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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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NOTES.

One feature of the unhappy Manipur business is that not a few Englishmen have proved themselves ready to consider whether, after all, we are not as deeply wrong as any members of the Manipurian ruling family. Among others Mr. E. Robinson, of Waterloo, Lancashire, stands prominently. In a letter to the *Liverpool Daily Post* he comments upon the Manipur disaster and the state of things which has arisen out of it. Professor Sedgwick writing on the "Morality of Strife" says: "If we must be judges in our own cause, we must endeavour to be just judges. It appears to me, however, that there is hardly any plain duty of great importance in which civilised men fail so palpably as in this. I am persuaded that even the imperfect beings who compose modern nations might perform with more success the judicial function which in a modern state under popular government has become in some degree the business of every man if national consciences could be roused . . . . to grapple with the difficulties of the task". He then proceeds to say that there are three stages in the effort to judge fairly of the rights of others. First, that, carrying with us our own views and principles of right, we should put ourselves in our opponents' place to judge from their standpoint; secondly, that if, after so doing, we have no doubt that they have acted wrongly, we should consider whether we ourselves may not also have done wrong. If so, this consideration should tend to make us lenient in our judgment of them. Thirdly, if there be a real difference of principles, then we should endeavour to contemplate the different principles from the impartial standpoint of a third party. Mr. Robinson proceeds to comment as follows: "Now, as it cannot be a matter of indifference to fair-minded Englishmen whether, as a nation, we judge justly or no, ought we not to make an effort to follow the professor's wise counsel when occasions such as the present Manipur difficulty arise? Looking at the affair from the Manipuris' point of view we can hardly condemn them. From the light thrown on the occurrence by Mrs. Grimwood's letter, it would seem that it is we who have been guilty of aggression, treachery, and violence, and if they have retaliated it appears to have been in self-defence. Again, even if they have acted in a more treacherous manner than appears from present information, the sense of our own wrongdoing ought surely to restrain our hand in administering what is called punishment, but what is really revenge. Nothing can be more inconsistent with humanity and justice, not to speak of Christian forgiveness, than the punitive expeditions in which we frequently engage. The Rajah has just been made prisoner. The whole English nation is responsible for his just treatment, and we cannot shake off this responsibility on the plea that the matter is in the hand of Indian officials or military commanders. We must endeavour to judge his cause as justly as if we were in the position of an impartial tribunal. I believe many consciences are uneasy about the conduct of this affair.

The Marquis of Ripon is manifestly dissatisfied. While there is yet time, let the Press and the people speak out boldly, and save our country from that degradation which is involved in every act of oppression and injustice. We fear that already great wrong has been done."

In commenting upon the great increase of population in India during the past decade the *Spectator* altogether derides the notion that this increase need cause alarm. Among some pertinent observations in an ingenious argument are these: "It may be true, as man, with his usual presumption, frequently asserts, that famine is Nature's remedy for over-population; but if so, Nature usually makes the inexplicable mistake of leaving the thickest populations alone, sparing Belgium while striking Morocco. There may be a connection between density of population and a failure of food, but it is not visible in history, and not deducible from any process of reasoning, even the *a priori* one, which would rather suggest that when men grow over-numerous, they would cultivate more carefully, a theory realised in action in China, in Egypt, in ancient Peru, and in the rice-bearing deltas of Bengal. There is, in truth, no evidence that the consumption of an agricultural people has ever overtaken its normal production of food,—that is, its production when Nature works in her accustomed way. There is famine in Egypt when the Nile fails, as it must have failed in Joseph's time; but the Nile fails because of deficient rainfall on the East African hills, not because there are too many Egyptians on the river's bank. Of course, if the population is thick, a famine kills more people than if it is thin, and therefore causes more suffering; but the thickness or thinness of population has nothing to do with famine. Hooghly, with 800 people to the square mile, is ten times as safe from the destroyer as Bellary, with only 125." True: but Hooghly has a permanent settlement and a means of acquiring wealth, while Bellary has not. Hooghly, too, is on the borders of a magnificent water-way, and is the centre of large industrial organisations, while Bellary is situated in an inland tract lacking all the advantages possessed by Hooghly. The *Spectator* often makes some misleading analogies, comparing things which have nothing in common, generalising in the most daring fashion: it has, however, seldom been more daring and more untrustworthy than in instituting the parallel quoted above.

We have given prominence in various issues of INDIA to a shocking instance of a bad Punjab settlement, a settlement and its consequences so bad that condign punishment ought to have been visited upon those responsible. But, as the responsible parties were to be found in the Secretary of State's Council, and in a late Viceroy's Council, of course nobody was even censured. On the principle of exhibiting the lights as well as the shadows of Indian administration we quote the concluding paragraph of a long article in the *Pioneer* entitled "Another Punjab Settlement: a model of good work," as follows: "Our digression has curtailed the space available for further remarks on Mr. Gordon Walker's work in Ludhiana. We are glad to say that Government has especially praised the excellence of that work, which is practically 'commendable for its accumulation of important and interesting facts, its conciseness of language, its absence of theorising, and it exhibits a knowledge of the people greater than officers usually possess, which could have been obtained only by very close and sympathetic observation.' Mr. Walker found the agricultural population when he began operations comfortable and prosperous —both growths of recent years. After five years of labour amongst the people he left them in 1883 in the same happy condition—no cycle of bad seasons having occurred apparently since 1869-70—but about two lakhs of rupees annually poorer, that being roundly the sum of enhanced demand plus cesses. Let us hope that 'the finest peasantry in India' will long continue to merit their description. They supply our armies with stalwart and faithful soldiers, our police both in the Punjab, in Burma, and even in China, with obedient and reliable constables, and those who remain at home are loyal fellow-subjects of our Queen-Empress, ready to rally in their thousands as they did in 1857 to the call of patriotism. Such a peasantry are worth preserving, are too good to be expropriated in favour of inferior men should the exigencies of the Government of India or another great famine seek to constrain, as was the case in Gurgaon, the Punjab Government to realise the full fixed demand in times of short harvests."

We give the following paragraph from the *Manchester Courier* London correspondence for what it is worth, merely remarking that a number of the correspondents in the metropolis are saying much the same thing: "Rumours have been afloat for the last few days to the effect that directly the Manipur difficulty is settled the Marquis of Lansdowne will retire from the Viceroyalty of India. His health has not been very satisfactory of late, and he is said to be anxious to return to England. In consideration of his services in Canada and in India it is anticipated that on his retirement he will be raised to a dukedom, although he will not have completed the full term of his Viceroyalty. It has been the custom to give the Viceroy of India on his retirement from office a step in the peerage. This was the case with Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, and Lord Dufferin. The only exception in recent years has been the Marquis of Ripon, but there were sufficient reasons in his case for the refusal of the customary reward. It is thought to be most probable that Lord Lansdowne will be succeeded at Calcutta by the present Governor-General of Canada, Lord Stanley of Preston, who would be as popular in India as he is in our great North American colony, and the appointment would be very acceptable to Anglo-Indians in this country. His place would very likely be offered to Lord George Hamilton, who, both as a distinguished member of the Cabinet, and as an extremely courteous and pleasant man, would be very welcome in Canada. It must, of course, be understood that no definite arrangement has as yet been made, and it is quite possible that Lord Lansdowne may be induced to remain for another year in India; but my information, which is from a trustworthy source, leads me to believe that changes such as those which I have indicated are very likely to take place.'

The conduct of Government Departments in the management of such commercial organisations as railways is strongly stigmatized by Mr. Robert Brown, so far as India is concerned, in the pamphlet he has just written, and to which we have devoted some attention elsewhere in this issue. Three instances are given by Mr. Brown, showing that the interests of the taxpayers has been altogether ignored, while shareholders have been treated with great generosity. "Government occasionally buys up a railway originally constructed by a nominally independent company, the most recent cases being the Oudh and Rohilkund in 1888, and the Southern Indian in 1890. They are fine illustrations of the way in which the guaranteed company system has 'developed the resources' of India. The former line from the date of its opening had involved the Government in a total loss of Rx.2,323,287 for deficiency of guaranteed interest, and yet they bought up its share capital of £4,000,000 at a premium of £25 18s. 0¼d. per cent., being the average price at which the stock has stood in the market for the previous three years! That price however had no connection with the railway's traffic earnings, but depended entirely upon the Government's own guarantee. The market price would have been the same although the traffic receipts had been *nil*. Similarly the Southern Indian ordinary stock, £3,208,508, was bought up at a premium of £989,048 11s. 2d., although till 30th June, 1888, Government had sustained a loss of £1,948,599 from deficiency of receipts to meet guaranteed interest. Some years earlier the East Indian, one of the few profitable lines, was bought up at a premium of £6,550,000."

One of the chief features in the indictment of Indian administration contained in the last issue of INDIA was that which related to expenditure on irrigation works out of all proportion to the receipts. In the *Gazette of India*, latest to hand is a review by the Government of India of the irrigation department's work in the Bombay Presidency. More glaring cases than those mentioned by our contributor, though, fortunately, on a smaller scale, are published. For example: The Muchkundi Tank, in 1888-89, irrigated only two acres and cost Rs. 373 to maintain. "In 1889-90 the figures for this tank were still more unfavourable, only two acres being irrigated bringing in a revenue of Rs 19. Miscellaneous receipts raised the gross revenue derived from it to Rs. 180, but it cost Rs. 1,351 to maintain it." The direct loss on this tank in 1889-90, therefore, was Rs. 1,171! "The Koregaon Tank is another instance. This cost Rs. 895 to maintain, and brought in only Rs. 216 of revenue." At the end of the eleventh paragraph of its review the Government of India remarks that unless the Muchkundi Tank

can be of better use, "it would appear to be advisable to entirely close a tank that irrigates only two acres, and costs a considerable sum to maintain." Of what use, it may be asked, is the costly adminstration at Bombay, if it needs to be taught such an elementary lesson in economy as this?

FROM the most recent reports of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, we quote the following interesting paragraphs:—Report for 1888-89:—"The *Hindustán*, which distributes 240 papers daily, is perhaps the most ably conducted and ambitious of all the vernacular papers. The proprietor is Rajah Rampal Singh, a staunch supporter of the Congress, and it is published at the headquarters of his estate." — From the Report for 1889-90:—"The *Hindustán*, a daily paper with a circulation which has risen from 240 to 415, continues to be the most important of the vernacular papers in the Provinces. It is conducted with intelligence and independence, is Liberal in tone, and a strong supporter of the National Congress, but has articles on most of the leading topics of the day. It is owned by Rajah Rampal Singh, the leading Taluqdar of the Pertabgarh district." The Rajah Rampal Singh, whose Ranee is an English lady, has visited England on several occasions and is well-known here.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE SOCIETY held a very successful debate in the Alexandra Hall at the end of the last term, to which all the Indians resident at Cambridge were invited as the Society's guests. Mr. Cuming, of Trinity, proposed "That this House approves of the Indian National Congress." Mr. Steadfield, of Pembroke, opposed the motion. The debate was afterwards confined chiefly among Indians. Very eloquent were the speeches too, especially of Mr. H. S. Gour, of Downing, Messrs. Mehta, Rây, Gour, Ahmad, Meharjee, Thornton, having spoken for the motion, Mr. Steadfield replied, but his eloquence failed to convince the House, for the motion was ultimately carried almost unanimously. We quote the foregoing from the *Cambridge Review*. The evidence it affords of a fair and dispassionate consideration of the Congress question is most gratifying.

THE distress in Madras has led a Scottish Free Church Missionary to Madras—now in Britain—to suggest that a Committee should be formed to receive subscriptions for the sufferers. Mr. Andrew, the missionary in question, has written to several Scottish newspapers urging this course. What the response, if any, has been we have not seen. Money, no doubt, is needed, and, we believe, some is available, being the surplus of the 1877 Famine Fund. This money is invested with Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co., and is under the control of three trustees—the Archbishop of Madras, Mr. P. Macfadyen, and the hon. secretary of the Famine Fund. We believe the trustees are taking steps to place the money in their hands at the disposal of a committee which may be formed in Madras.

THE verbatim Report of the Congress proceedings in Calcutta in December last, with Introduction and a number of particulars concerning the movement, has been published in England. Copies have been sent to the principal newspapers in Great Britain and to all public men of political influence. On application at 25, Craven Street, Charing Cross, parties wishing for copies can be supplied.

A JUDICIOUS SUMMING-UP OF THE CONGRESS POSITION.

THE *Daily Chronicle*, which has now obtained for itself a foremost position among the half-dozen morning papers published in the British metropolis, has delivered itself of a judicious and weighty pronouncement on the Congress movement. The immediate occasion of the *Chronicle's* comments is found in the publication of the full report of the proceedings at Calcutta in December last. We quote from our contemporary as follows:—

"There is an attraction amounting to fascination for the political student, no matter what his nationality may be, in the history and destiny of India. The manner in which we first obtained a footing in that great country, through the enterprise of a trading company, and gradually won our way to conquest and sovereignty, is one of the most thrilling and wonderful chapters in the history of the world. The conquest was not of one people, but of several, counting in the aggregate hundreds of millions, and differing from us radically and fundamentally in race, language, and religion; in political institutions and social customs, and in all the elements of civilisation. We have imposed upon ancient Eastern races whose past is traceable to the twilight of history, the government of a Western people whose civilization is comparatively but of yesterday. The reins of empire which our small island, with its population of thirty-five millions, holds in her hands, are laid on the necks of two hundred and fifty millions of people who acknowledge our sway in India. The responsibilities of such an extended dominion are grave indeed, and are well worthy of the most serious consideration we can bestow upon them. Unfortunately, owing to the absorbing nature of our domestic concerns and the demands made upon our attention by colonial and foreign affairs, we have not as much time to give to Indian questions as their importance requires. The Indian National Congress, which has now become a great annual event in India, renders one good service, at all events, in helping to remind us of a duty, which the pressure of other business too often causes us to forget. We have now before us the official report of the recent Congress, which is a bulky volume of the ordinary Blue-book size, and which will repay careful perusal by those who are desirous of making themselves acquainted with the aims of the Indian national movement. The Imperial Parliament has placed the government of India in the hands of the Viceroy and his Council, and very few here, outside the India Office, know anything of Indian affairs or Indian administration. We are, therefore, the more indebted to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress for taking the trouble to put us in possession of the information contained in this report.

"The official view of Indian government we have always with us, and it is sure to have due weight, but we know from our own experience of government in England that the official view on any subject requires to be supplemented by non-official criticism before we can feel sure that we are in a position to judge of its merits. Some parliamentary cynic used to say, indeed, that he never felt quite certain of the truth of anything until it had been officially contradicted. Lord Cross's Indian Councils Bill comes in for severe handling on the part of many of the delegates to the Congress. Its omission of the elective principle rendered it unacceptable to those who are agitating for administrative reform. When that Bill was before the House of Lords last year, Lord Salisbury declared that 'the principle of election or government by representation was not an Eastern idea, and that it did not fit Eastern traditions or Eastern minds.' If the Prime Minister should find time to look through the report of the Congress he will discover that this position of his is by no means endorsed by those whom it mainly concerns. He will learn from one of the speakers that 'we are apt to forget in this country, when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for municipal government and parliamentary government, that the East is the parent of municipalities, and that local self-government, in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East there is not a portion of the country from east to to west, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities, and not only so, but, like our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network, so that you have ready made to your hand the framework of the great system of representation.' One of the commonest objections brought by the official class in India against the Congress movement is that it has no touch with the masses of the people, and is not entitled to speak in their name. The Indian official class, it is safe to say, does not care very much for the principle of government by the people either in England or in India, but it knows that the great majority of the people of this country are attached to the representative principle, and it seeks to alienate their sympathy from the Congress by denying to the Congress any representative character. One of the delegates, in replying to this objection, observed that 'if the masses in India were capable of giving articulate expression to definite political demands, then the time would have arrived, not for consultative councils, but for representative institutions.' It must be remembered, too, that the extension of the franchise in England was not an extension upwards from the masses to the classes, but an extension downwards, from the privileged few to the great body of the people. It is a poor argument, therefore, to say that because you cannot confer the franchise on everybody in India you are justified in refusing to confer it upon anybody in that country.

"There is nothing in the resolutions passed by the Congress to justify the note of alarm which its opponents so frequently affect. The delegates ask for the separation of the executive and judicial functions of Indian administration; they advocate the expediency of extending into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force the system of trial by jury, and of withdrawing from the High Courts the power of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries; they object to the incidence of the salt tax; they protest against wasteful military expenditure; they urge the great importance of increasing rather than diminishing, as they allege the present tendency appears to be, the expenditure on education; they demand the appointment of a mixed Commission to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country; they ask that examinations for the civil branches of the public service in India, at present held in England only, should be held simultaneously both in India and in England; they pray that the House of Commons will in future take into consideration the annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will insure its full and adequate discussion; and they renew their former demand for consultative councils based on the elective principle. Whatever may be thought of any or all of these proposals they are certainly not of a revolutionary character; and we feel bound to say that, having regard both to their intrinsic importance and the very moderate and reasonable manner in which they are placed before us in the able speeches made in their support at the Congress, they are deserving of the most favourable consideration. The report is fittingly dedicated to the memory of the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, who at the time of his lamented death, and for some years previously, was the leading spokesman for India in the House of Commons. The Congress for next year is to be held in England. The number of delegates will be necessarily limited; but they will be empowered to speak for all those who were represented at the vast gathering held at Calcutta, and we look forward with great interest to their presence amongst us, and bespeak for them a kindly welcome."

THE STORE DEPARTMENT OF THE INDIA OFFICE.

GREAT SAVINGS POSSIBLE: THE CIRCUMLOCUTION WHICH PREVAILS.

In the course of a brief speech delivered at the last Congress Mr. George Yule made some remarks respecting the working of the Store Department of the India Office, which we hope will attract the attention of some member of Parliament and lead him to take action when the Indian Budget comes on for debate. Mr. Yule said: "I am quite convinced that if we had the opportunity of discussing the Budget in Parliament, I could undertake, in the question of stores alone, to save as much, at all events, as would enable the Government to raise the taxable minimum for income to Rs. 1,000. (Cheers.) I do not know any commercial undertaking, and I am certain that there is no Government undertaking of a commercial character which is carried on as the Store Department is, without knowledge on the part of superiors, and with insufficient payment on the part of those who are entrusted with the purchasing of stores for us. I say that there are no commercial men who would not come to the conclusion that, after twenty years of such a mode of carrying on business without check, there must be a great amount of bribery and corruption. On that account alone, if this resolution were to have the ear of the House of Commons and to be passed, I confidently assert that

WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO SAVE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA AT LEAST ONE-HALF OF THE PRESENT AMOUNT OF INCOME TAX."

In this connection the following particulars, which appeared in a weekly journal named *Fairplay*, will be of interest:—

INDIA OFFICE.

STORE DEPARTMENT.

HOW THEY SPEND THE MONEY.

The Governor-General of India requires a new pen to replace the one he has now in use. The question is, How is this to be obtained? The first we know about it in England is—

1. The receipt from India, at the India Office, of an indent that the Governor-General requires a new pen.

2. The Secretary of State then sends the indent to the Director-General of Stores.

3. The Director-General, on receipt of same, sends it up to be copied into the indent-book.

4. The indent is then copied on to a draft order.

5. The draft order is then sent over to the Superintendent of Stores at Belvedere Road, Lambeth, for his consideration and approval, and for any remarks he may think fit to make, and to place the number of pattern approved by him for the guidance of the Director-General of Stores.

6. This document is then sent back from Belvedere Road to the Director-General of Stores at the India Office proper.

7. Tenders are then invited by the Director-General of Stores for the supply of this said pen, and on a fixed day.

8. The tender for the pen is received, having been placed in a properly constructed tender-box.

9. The tender-box and tender for the pen are then opened by the Store Committee.

10. The approved tender for the pen is then sent by the Store Committee to the Director-General of Stores.

11. The Director-General of Stores, having first caused the premises of the maker to be officially inspected to see if they are adapted for the work which has been carried on in them for half a century, then informs the contractor that his tender has been accepted.

12. The Director-General then has two copies of the accepted tender for the pen made, one for the warehouse at Belvedere Road, and one for the Superintendent of Stores.

13. The contractor then delivers the pen at the stores, Belvedere Road.

14. And this said pen has then to pass the strict examination of the examiners, under the immediate eye of the Superintendent of Stores.

15. This poor pen, having been surveyed and approved by the officers at Belvedere Road, is then ordered to be packed ready for shipment.

16. An entry is then made in the packing book of the fact that the pen is packed ready for shipment.

17. An application is then made by the Superintendent of Stores to the Director-General of Stores for tonnage to be engaged for the conveyance of this pen.

18. The Director-General then forwards this requisition for tonnage to convey this pen to the shipping agent in the City (and, being under £20,000, is not to be insured).

19. The agent procures a ship to convey this pen.

20. And then informs the Director-General that he has done so, and furnishes him with the name of the ship.

21. The Director-General then informs the Superintendent that the agent has procured a ship, and furnishes him with the name of the vessel.

22. The Superintendent of Stores then commences to prepare for the shipment of the pen.

23. The consignment papers are first prepared, giving description of the pen, and stating under what indent supplied.

24. These consignment papers are then forwarded by the Superintendent of Stores to the Director-General of Stores.

25. The Director-General then sends this consignment paper to the check clerk to be compared with the original demand in the indent.

26. This document having been examined is then returned to the Director-General.

27. The Director-General in like manner returns this document to the Superintendent of Stores.

28. The Superintendent of Stores then orders the shipment of this pen to be made.

29. A lighter is then provided, and the pen is put on board for conveyance to some vessel in the docks that had been engaged for this special service.

30. The consignment papers are then handed over to another clerk in order that he should prepare the Bill of Lading for this pen.

31. The Bill of Lading is next signed.

32. And at last the packing account is prepared, and it, with a copy of Bill of Lading, is sent out to India by the Superintendent of Stores.

And this is the way the business is done at the India Office.

But this is not all. It sometimes happens that the indent from India specifies the pen of a particular maker. That maker may not be favourably regarded by the advisers of the officials on this side. In that case a pen by a favoured maker is substituted, and is condemned and thrown aside as soon as it gets out, and fresh orders are sent home with similar results. Only those connected with certain departments in India know to what an extent this game of cross purposes is carried, and at what a ruinous waste of public money. If the Secretary of State for India would produce a return of stores sent out to India and condemned as being unsuitable, and unconformable with indents sent home, the country would be enlightened on a matter which at present is kept dark.

INDIA OFFICE.

STORE DEPARTMENT.

The following gentlemen would have the honour of assisting to procure the new pen for the Governor-General of India, referred to in our edition of 18th June, 1886:

Four Members of the India Council on the Stores Committee, Salary about £1,200 per annum each .. £4,800

The Private Secretary to the Under-Secretary of State, INDIA OFFICE, Salary per annum about £400

Mr. A. A. Jopp, Director-General of Stores, INDIA OFFICE, Salary per annum about £1,400

Mr. Shaw, Assistant to the Director-General of Stores, INDIA OFFICE, Salary per annum about £800

Mr. Barnet, Clerk in Purchase Department, INDIA OFFICE, Salary per annum about £700

Mr. Parker, Clerk in Shipping Department, INDIA OFFICE, Salary per annum about £700

Mr. Smith, Clerk in Shipping Department, INDIA OFFICE, Salary per annum about £700

Mr. Larminie, Check Clerk Store Department, INDIA OFFICE, Salary per annum about £350

A Copying Clerk under the orders of Mr. Barnet, INDIA OFFICE, Salary per annum about £250

Mr. Walker, Registrar of Documents, INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT, Belvedere Road, Lambeth, Salary per annum about £150

Mr. Davis, Superintendent of Stores, INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT, Belvedere Road, Lambeth, Salary per annum about £900

Mr. Arnold, Supervisor of Stores, INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT, Belvedere Road, Lambeth, Salary per annum about £500

Mr. McKean, Supervisor of Stores, INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT, Belvedere Road, Lambeth, Salary per annum about £500

Mr. Graham, Supervisor of Stores, INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT, Belvedere Road, Lambeth, Salary per annum about £500

Mr. Chapman, Examiner of Stationery and Pens,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £250
Mr. Byat, Supervisor second grade, and assistant to Mr. Graham,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £250
Mr. Street, Cash Clerk,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £250
Mr. Terry, Foreman,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £100
Mr. Forbes, Keeper of Patterns,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £250
Mr. Kerby, Examiner and Assistant to Mr. Chapman,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £150
Mr. Edgell, Supervisor in the Shipping Office,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £350
Mr. Sinclair, Bill of Lading Clerk,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT.
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £350
Mr. Lethering, Packing Account Clerk,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £150
Captain Kerr, Ship's Husband,
INDIA OFFICE AND INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT.
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £400
Mr. White, Assistant to Captain Kerr,
INDIA OFFICE AND INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT,
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £150
Mr. Dodson, Dock Foreman,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT
Belvedere Road, Lambeth,
Salary per annum about £100
Messrs. Berryman and Turnbull, Shipping and Insurance Agents,
27, Leadenhall Street.
No one knows besides themselves what commissions and discounts they receive for their services.

The India Office proper, as well as the India Store Department at Belvedere Road, are well provided with messengers and a travelling messenger to convey the various documents to, from, and about the duplicate establishments, as it is considered by the gentlemen in office not to be the correct thing for any officials (besides messengers) to convey the documents about themselves.

By the above statement it is very clear where the greatest amount of work is done; and where the lion's share of the salaries is distributed. It does not appear that the salaries and the work are quite fairly apportioned; for instance, while the salaries paid at the Store Department for selecting and shipping this particular pen, amount to £5,300, the salaries paid at the India Office proper for requesting the Store Department to do the work amount to £10,100, which appears to be a great deal of cream to come off so little milk.

In addition to the above-mentioned officials there is an officer of the Royal Engineers, who can scarcely be said to belong properly to either the India Office or the Store Department, as he migrates from one to the other. He is, in fact, a "floater", and his salary for "floating" is about £750 per annum.

A SANSKRIT PROFESSOR OF FIFTY YEARS AGO ON INDIA.

"I AM NO FRIEND TO AGITATION IN GENERAL; BUT IT IS NECESSARY FOR INDIA."

WRITING more than half a century ago (April, 1835) to a native friend (the late Babu Ram Komul Sen), Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, then Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, gave the following advice, which (says the *Indian Mirror*) our countrymen should lay close to their hearts. That true friend of the Indian people said:

"I continue to feel the same interest in India and my Indian friends as whilst I was with them. I am much more Indian than English, and look upon all that concerns India with more anxiety and fellow-feeling than upon the affairs of this country. Your picture of the state of affairs was anything but satisfactory. I hope, however, times will mend. . . . . It must be owned that the people of England, the mercantile and parliamentary people at least, are too greedy for their own profits to treat Indian commerce with justice; but it is very much your own fault. You submit too quietly. There is a moral as well as a physical force. You employ neither. The latter is, of course, out of the question; but you might exert the former. You should hold meetings, and petition, petition, petition; again and again petition the Government of Bengal, the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, the Parliament, the King in Council, whenever you think yourselves aggrieved. But you must hold public meetings and talk about them, and talk boldly too. You can do such things to pay compliments. Why not meet to discuss your rights?

I AM NO FRIEND TO AGITATION IN GENERAL; BUT IT IS NECESSARY FOR INDIA.

In her commerce alone she is seriously injured; her manufactures are annihilated; her raw produce burthened in England with heavy duties, and English manufactures forced upon her duty free. There is no equality in this, and it would not be endured—it could not have happened—

HAD THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BEEN INDEPENDENT.

There are other points on which reform is required; but it will not be granted if it is not asked for perseveringly, and loudly demanded."

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

IS IT "ARBITRARY" AND "DESPOTIC?"

The following correspondence has been sent to us for publication:—

House of Commons, April 27th, 1891.

To the Right Hon. Viscount Cross, G.C.B., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,—I beg to draw your attention, as the responsible authority in matters concerning the Government of India, to the following words used by the Under Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons in the debate on the adjournment of the House on Thursday the 16th inst., viz.:—"That India was governed *arbitrarily by the strongest despotism*, and the regulation of 1827 was one of those powers which had been put into the hands of the Government of India, and which if the Government was to be arbitrary and despotic *must be exercised from time to time.*" I wish to ask whether your lordship endorses the statement that "India is governed arbitrarily by the strongest despotism," and whether you consider such an unqualified statement calculated to encourage loyalty in the minds of the subjects of the Queen in India, or to bridge over the gulf which unfortunately still separates race from race and colour from colour in that portion of Her Majesty's dominions. As I believe that Sir John Gorst's statement may cause mischief and misunderstanding in India, I hope you will see your way to disown or qualify it.—I am, etc.,

CHARLES E. SCHWANN.

4, Prince's Gardens, S.W., April 30, 1891.

To the Right Hon. Viscount Cross, G.C.B.

My Lord,—I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 28th April marked "Private."

As I addressed you as being the responsible and official authority on a public matter nearly touching the good government and welfare of our millions of fellow-subjects in India, I cannot accept a private communication as an adequate and official reply, especially as that communication simply shirks the point on which I sought for information on public grounds.

I am surprised to read your admission that you had not noticed the exact words used by the Under Secretary of State for India in his astounding description of our government of India made in a debate, every word of which I should have thought would have claimed your careful consideration. Surely such a weighty pronouncement, calculated as it was to exacerbate the feelings of the Indian people, deserves confirmation or modification at your hands.

If I do not receive a reply, I shall understand that you endorse Sir John Gorst's statement. In any case I shall publish this correspondence, in order to show our fellow-subjects in India that there are some Englishmen who do not think that the Government of that great country either is or ought to be "arbitrary and despotic."—I am, etc.,

CHARLES E. SCHWANN.

India Office, Whitehall, S.W., May 1, 1891.

Dear Sir,—I shall be quite ready to answer any questions in Parliament on the subject of your letter under reply.

There can be no doubt that the Government of India is not a Constitutional Government in the ordinary sense of the term; but I believe that under the benevolent rule of the Crown, as regulated by the statutes relating to the Government of India, the different peoples and races of that country have enjoyed greater security, happiness, and prosperity than at any other time.—Faithfully yours,

CROSS.

Charles E. Schwann, Esq., M.P.

ARE INDIANS CAPABLE ADMINISTRATORS AND PLUCKY IN EMERGENCIES?

PERSONAL TESTIMONIES IN THE AFFIRMATIVE.

(*An extract from Mr. Hume's evidence before the Public Service Commission.*)

At the close of December, 1857, under Lord Canning's direct orders, I raised a local force of 500 infantry, 350 cavalry, and five guns (all natives, of course) who thenceforth were continually employed, and so comported themselves as to obtain on two occasions, the battles of Anantram and Harchandpoor, the honour of an entire Gazette to themselves. During the first few months of the year I had the assistance of Colonel (then Lieutenant) Sherriff, and later of Lieutenant Laughlan Forbes, two gallant young officers to whom our great successes, and considering the circumstances they were really great, were due. But I had charge of the whole force, was with them throughout, and was in a better position than even most military men to judge what natives are capable of in the way of pluck and dash. For we were wholly isolated, we were always opposed to great odds, and we had no European troops with us except when Colonel Riddel's column moved down about the time of the taking of Calpee, within seventy miles of us. And it was not only of mere pluck that I had experience but of administrative capacity. In June, 1857, after the wing of the 9th Native Infantry had mutinied, the Gwalior authorities being afraid of the first Gwalior Grenadiers, to get rid of them, sent them over to garrison Etawah. There they mutinied also, and I was obliged to leave the station with the officers of that regiment. But let me note, before proceeding further, that during the mutiny of the 9th N. I. my townspeople stood by us to a man.

Faithfulness and Cool Courage.

My life was saved the night of the mutiny when, after getting off the rest of the people of the station, I had remained behind to see if anything could be done, by two natives, who passed me safely through two successive parties of sepoys, who were specially on the look-out to shoot me, they having the idea in those days that they could not safely make off with the treasure without first killing the District Officer. It was a bright moonlight night, my only disguise was a large chudder, over a native pagree—native shoes over dark stockings and my trousers pulled up out of sight. I had no particular claim on these men—one, Gyadeen, was a Chuprassi, one was a townsman. Had I been detected, they, as well as myself, would certainly have been shot and this they perfectly knew, yet they walked with me one on either side, chatting together through the sepoys, who luckily paid no particular attention to us and answered unconcernedly a question as to whether it was known what had become of the Collector (myself) by the remark, that he was said to have gone into the city to try and rouse the townsmen. I don't think that I am more of a coward than most of my countrymen, but at that critical moment I could not for the life of me have answered in that cheery unconcerned manner.

The sepoys of the 9th Native Infantry, having mostly gone off to Delhi, with the little treasure that remained (the bulk of it I had previously sent safely into Agra, by the aid of my friend Raja—then Kour—Lutchman Singh and Kour Zor Singh of the Chohan House of Pertabnere), order was speedily re-established. I should say, however, that several native officers of the 9th Native Infantry and about twenty sepoys had remained faithful under a good old Ahir (note the caste) Soubadar, and were with and protecting the whole body of the fugitives down at the Jumna Ghat at the time of my own fortunate escape.

Chivalrous Courtesy and Watchful Care.

On the restoration of order and the advent of the first Gwalior Grenadiers, I found myself with some thirty women and children. All my native friends told me (they were many of them Brahmins and so wormed themselves into the confidence of some amongst the sepoys) that the Grenadiers would certainly soon mutiny, and were only waiting for the word from the rest of the Contingent at Gwalior, to do so. So I determined to send the women and children at once into Agra. By that time things were looking very black, for tidings of disaster on disaster "followed fast and followed faster," till even our most sincere well-wishers believed that our Raj was at an end. But even at that time, though the intervening country was up, and outside my own district villages, where everywhere burning and anarchy prevailed, Rajah Lutchman Singh and our mutual friends, Kours Zor Singh and Anup Singh, volunteered with their own people to escort our ladies and children into Agra. Kour Zor Singh was, at first, dead against it; he begged and prayed me not to send them to Agra (where he conceived that sooner or later, as at other places, all would be massacred), but to join them myself and let him escort us all through Central India, to the chiefs of every State in which he was in one way or another related or connected, safely to the sea. But when he saw that my mind was made up, he fell in with the scheme, and he and his brother, Anup Singh, and Lutchman Singh personally safely escorted the ladies (this was in June) into Agra, and there is no lady living of this party but will testify to the chivalrous courtesy and watchful care with which these noble gentlemen fulfilled their dangerous and self-imposed task.

Chivalrous Mutineers.

Then the Gwalior Grenadiers mutinied; they behaved like the brave fellows they were (these were the men who routed Wyndham later at Cawnpore, and in the subsequent fight left more than half their number dead at the guns), and though they could have killed every one of us, harmed no hair of any man's head, only told us that they could no longer obey us and would take us to Gwalior with them, and next morning allowed us all to ride quietly off, through their lines, pretending to believe that we were only going out for our morning's airing.

But they had yet to reckon with the townspeople, for that afternoon a number of sepoys went down to the bazaar and there a fight ensued* in which several of the sepoys were killed and all were disarmed, and then the townspeople sent such threatening messages and made such demonstrations (the Khuttree grain-dealers of Etawah were notorious for their pugnacity) that the mutineers decamped in all haste across the two rivers to Gwalior. News of this was sent after me by several messengers with pressing requests that I would return and again take charge of the district, and promises that till I came order should be kept. But these only reached me after I had been two days in Agra, and Government would not, as so many district officers had been killed, and this was so injurious to our *prestige*, and they had not a single soldier to send with me to protect me, allow me to go, and though I now know I might safely have done so, I doubted it greatly at the time and was very glad to be directed to stay where I was.

Administrative Capacity throughout a Period of Anarchy.

Then came the battle of the 5th of July, and it was some little time before anything like order was re-established in Agra. But throughout this time communications were reaching me from my district begging me to make arrangements for its proper administration. Then I devised and Government sanctioned this scheme. The district comprised five very large Tahsils. I constituted each a Soobahship, and appointed one native gentleman, Kour Zor Singh (Chohan Rajpoot) for Etawah; Rajah (then Row) Juswunt Row (Brahmin) for Bhurtenan; Lulla Laik Singh (Senghur Rajpoot) for Bidhona; Chowdhree Ganga Pershad (Kayat) for Puhpoondh; and the Tahsildar of Oreya, an elderly Bania of Muttra, for Dullelnugger as Soobah to each, making them suitable allowances to keep up the necessary armed retainers and establishments—all Government officials (of course many had fled) who had thus far remained at their posts being included in these latter. We had here men of very different castes—Brahmin, Rajpoot, Kayat, Bania, yet each and all rose to the emergency, and during the next troublous five months, in the very centre of the outbreak, maintained order throughout their jurisdictions, and so maintained it that in aftertimes no man ever complained of any injustice, any abuse of power—no man had ever anything but good words to speak of their administration. They kept me informed weekly of all that passed, they kept up for us communication with Cawnpore. Through them we got the first news of Neil's arrival, and more than all, directly he did arrive, they collected 700 camels, and under their own men, the Cawnpore district being "up" like the whole of the rest of the Doab, except Etawah, escorted these to Cawnpore, and thus rendered an immediate advance on Lucknow possible, which, but for this, must have been much delayed. Moreover, whilst all over the country Government revenue was being realized by all kinds of pretenders, dacoit leaders and the like, not a rupee was thus made away with. My orders were that every man should retain his revenue until I returned and then to pay it to me, and these orders were carried out to the letter.

A Brave Old Bania.

I do not know how administrative capacity could have been better demonstrated than it was by these five gentlemen. I doubt if any Englishman living could have administered one of those Soobahships at that time as cleverly and satisfactory as every one of these native gentlemen did, and I am quite sure that no Englishman could have proved himself more heroically faithful to the trust reposed in him than did the Tahsildar of Oreya. He was only a Bania; an elderly man, very stout and good tempered, the last man from whom heroism was to be expected, and yet he gave up his life and underwent torture rather than betray his trust. The facts are these. When the Jhansi Brigade of mutineers were known to be on their way towards Oreya, *en route* I believe to Delhi, the Tahsildar by night removed in small parcels his records and treasure to the forts of certain loyal zemindars whom he could trust in the north of the Pergunnah. Only one or two of his men on whom he could rely were in the secret. The rest of the establishment got to know that the things were gone, but they did not know where they were concealed. It was a small matter, but no Englishman could have managed this much. He reported this to me. At the same time as this Brigade was a power-

* How this arose it is impossible to say. Some say the sepoys tried to loot some shops, but they were a very orderly lot of good-tempered giants; some say the townspeople abused them for driving away their European officers. *Probably* it began over some women, though of this there was no rumour.

ful military force, against which our people with only matchlock men could do nothing, I ordered him and other officers on the line of march, in order to prevent the looting of bazaars and murder of villagers, &c., to receive it civilly, furnish the required supplies and keep matters as straight as possible. The Tahsildar remained at his post and did what was necessary. All would have gone well had not some rascal betrayed to the mutineers the fact that the Tahsildar had hid away his treasure and records. They had taken it for granted that, like all other Tahsils at that time, it had long since been looted and had made no inquiries, and the Tahsildar passed as being now Soobah on the part of the Maharaja of Gwalior, whose territory marched with the greater part of the Tahsil. When they learnt the truth they seized him and called upon him to tell them where the treasure had been hid. He refused to tell them, making of course all kinds of excuses. Then they threatened to hang him, and when he still remained firm even prepared to do so, but he was a kindly looking old man, and even they, mutineers as they were, seemed to dislike the job, and so they tied him on to one of their brass guns, telling him they would let him go if he chose to tell them. It was in July I think, possibly August. He would not tell, and he was dragged on the gun the whole distance to Etawah. When he arrived there, he was insensible. By the intercession of people in Etawah he was released there and carried to his home at Muttra, where he died. He was only a fat old Bania, like thousands of others whom most Englishmen considered the incarnation of selfish cowardice, but he knew how to suffer and be strong, and die rather than be faithless to his salt.

A Daring and Gallant Servant of the State.

I have mentioned already my dear old friend Rajah Lutchman Singh, and I should like to say something more of him. The Commission examined him at Allahabad I think, but none of them probably guessed what a daring and gallant servant of the State that modest little elderly gentleman had shown himself in more stirring times. He is a Rathore Rujput, a distant cousin of the Raja of Awa, and, born of parents by no means overburthened with worldly possessions, he entered the office of the Board of Revenue in 1854, or thereabouts, as Translator. Poor Christian there became acquainted with him, and when he took charge of the Etawah district appointed him to a Tahsildarship, in which I found him when, in January, 1856, I relieved Christian. There is an idea that Indians are no riders; that they are not active. Now Agra is seventy miles from Etawah, Lutchman Singh's wife and children were in Agra (respectable officials in those days never took their families with them on service), and with my permission, Kour (as he then was) Lutchman Singh used on the Saturday afternoons to ride into Agra, spend the day there, and on the Monday morning ride back again to his Tahsil, where I always found him fresh and at work by 10 a.m. I don't suppose we have a Covenanted Assistant or Joint Magistrate, now-a-days at any rate, who could do as much. Later a specially good Tahsildar being wanted somewhere in the Jhansi Division, he was, much to my regret, transferred thither. Just before the mutiny broke out, he obtained leave in order to visit his family. His only road lay through Etawah, and he halted there to see me. Then came the bad news, and instead of going on he determined to stay with me (he was well known to and greatly respected by the people of Etawah) and endeavoured to assist me. There, through all our troubles, he remained, always hopeful, always cheerful, and ready for anything, until I sent him along with Zor Singh in charge of the ladies to Agra.

Of his services in the Civil department to me as regards my Etawah arrangements and the Government generally, during the rest of the year 1857, I need not speak, but one point I must dwell upon. Towards the close of September, and in the beginning of October, Agra was threatened by a large military force from the South; they came within nine or ten miles of Agra, and were encamped just on the other side of the Kuary Naddi.

That the force was very large and had many guns was known, but Government could not get particulars. In the Gwalior arsenal were mortars, shells, and all requisites enough to knock the old fort of Agra about our ears in half an hour. Had this force got any of this war material? What guns had they really got? Had any part of the contingent joined them? Government sent out spies in vain; that some had been promptly hung, and that the others had either funked it and abstained from going or been disposed of was known, but this was all. At this juncture Lutchman Singh volunteered to get the required information. The danger of the attempt was extraordinary; he was a native of Agra, known by sight to every one in the place, known too as a faithful Government servant. About 2,000 of the Agra budmashes were in the rebel camp; if one of them detected him, his immediate death was certain. Yet he went, disguised as a fakir, stayed there two or three days, and brought back the fullest and most accurate information—information which, but for the marvellous misunderstanding between the Civil and Military authorities, would have rendered impossible the great surprise, a few days later of the 10th of October, of which all that needs now be said is that "All's well that ends well." Now I know of no pluckier exploit than this of Lutchman Singh's; no not in those fighting times when plucky deeds were as plentiful as blackberries on a Devonshire hedge.

When in December I was allowed to return to Etawah he accompanied me, and was with me thoughout as one of my righthand men, and all I can say is that a more *preux chevalier* in the field, or a bolder and yet wiser adviser in Council, never breathed.

More of the Same Sort: "Sheer Force of Character and Pluck."

Before I turn away from Etawah I should like to recall one more of my brave companions in arms. If I refer to men like Resaldar Rahimkhan and many others who were soldiers before they joined me, it would be of no avail for my present purpose; they were trained soldiers, and no one who can read our history can doubt the bravery of many of our trained native soldiers. I desire rather to give instances of men who, trained solely to peaceful occupations and all unused to arms, yet at a mature age, when the necessity arose, showed as great a capacity for rising to the occasion as any Englishman could have done, and very far more than many Englishmen did. Such a one was Wazeer Ali, a Muhammadan gentleman, who, for many years, had practised as a Vakil in the Dehra Civil Court, but who, in 1856, I had taken in as a senior mohurrir in the Revenue Department, and who later I had promoted to be Joint Revenue Serishtadar. Between the mutiny of the 9th Native Infantry and that of the Gwalior Grenadiers, dacoity, for which Etawah was always famous, had broken out in many places in the district gangs having come over from Gwalior. I had to organise several parties to put these down, and one of these parties I placed under Wazeer Ali. His work was excellent, he cleared the whole of that portion of the district to which I deputed him, and, in one case when a party who had seized a fort, absolutely refused to surrender, he stormed it, and though several men were killed in the assault he was the first man up the ladders into the fort. The circumstances were peculiarly difficult, as the dacoits were far better armed than his men, and a good many of these latter not much inclined to the work, but he carried the place by sheer force of character and pluck.

Still More: "I Will Never be Unfaithful to the Salt."

And now I will only refer to one other case. When Assistant Magistate in Allyghur and in charge of the then large jail there, I made the acquaintance of the jailor—a Rampur Pathan—a great pehlwan (athlete) and a first rate officer. After some time I came to know and like this man greatly. I used to drop into the jail at all hours by day and night, and always found everything as it should be. I made friends with the prisoners soon about to be released, especially long-term men convicted of *khana jungis* and the like, and privately told them after their release to come and see me at some time. I thus saw, as time ran on, a large number of men, mostly respectable men, who had been in jail for affrays, &c., and I found out from them everything about the internal economy of the jail, and the more I heard the more did my opinion of the jailor rise. So it happened that we became very friendly, and when later I was specially deputed to endeavour to discover the persons concerned in a whole series of mysterious mail cart robberies that kept continually occurring on the Grand Trunk Road between Mynpooree and Delhi, I obtained permission to take him as the head of my detective establishment, and with him took up my quarters at the Khoorjah Dâk Bungalow. In consequence of the ability and devotion of my whole establishment, and specially of my friend, who was looked up to as a kind of father and earthly providence by all the ex-jail birds of Allyghur and the neighbouring districts, the whole mystery was solved, the greater portion of the property recovered, and the more important of the criminals convicted. As a reward my friend was at his own request transferred to the Revenue Department, and when the mutiny broke out he was the Tahsildar of Shamli, in the Muzaffernagger district. Directly the news of the mutiny reached me, I wrote to him, entreating him to be faithful to his salt, and to remember that, as it was through me he had risen to his present position, he held my honour as well as his own in his keeping. Thus I wrote every day (the post was not to be relied on during May, 1857), and before all postal communication in the Doab had closed he had received several of my letters. He had replied, but no reply reached me. Long after, these letters of mine came back to me, with, on one of them, pencilled his last message: "Give the sahib my service. I will never be unfaithful to the salt. What from me was possible that I have done—afterwards as God wills." What had happened was this. The Shamli tahsil was particularly open to attacks from wandering parties of rebels sent out from Delhi to forage. He had fortified his tahsil as best he could, and had sent for relatives of his (Pathans of Rampur) on whom he could rely to the last gasp. Two or three minor attacks were beaten off, but the news of this reaching the rebel camp a large force was sent out to attack the place. The mutineers surrounded the place, and called on him to surrender. A great number of them were Muhammadans of the third cavalry; to some he was known by reputation, and there was a strong desire to save him. They parleyed long with him; they told him the British Raj was over, that all they desired was that he should now transfer his services to the King of Delhi, and hold the tahsil in his name, as he had hitherto held it on behalf of the late British Government. They offered him high place at Delhi if he preferred it, or finally they offered him a safe conduct with all his people and all their property to their homes in Rampur, if he would quietly surrender the Tahsil. But nothing moved the

Tahsildar; he could die at his post he said; he could not change masters nor surrender. So after several hours of parley, the place was attacked. The besieging force was overwhelming, the gate was blown in, and there in the gateway, sword in hand, fell that noble gentleman, true to the last, with all his kinsmen, and (such was the force of his character and example) the great bulk of his Tahsil Chuprassis and subordinates behind him, only a very few escaping from whom the particulars of the attack were later learnt. I do not know how any Englishman, however true and brave, could have died more nobly, or could have exhibited in a higher degree those qualities which characterise the born administrator. He had strengthened his position to the utmost possible; he had held it bravely and successfully against repeated attacks, and when overwhelmed by irresistible force, not only did he fall himself fighting foremost, but he had so imbued with his spirit those who served under him (and we all know what a feckless and mixed lot the huge Chuprassi establishments of those days were) that they, too, almost to a man, fell vainly struggling to defend the breach on which he had already shown them the road to a higher life.

QUITE ANOTHER SORT OF CREATURE.

But when the news of the destruction of the Tahsil and the massacre of its defenders reached Muzaffernagger, the head quarters of the district, the Collector, a good little gentleman, but of unwarlike tendencies, was greatly troubled, and in the dusk of the evening, getting into his buggy, he quietly started down the road to Meerut. But his servants guessing what was happening, ran at once to the Serishtadar and Tahsildar, and these being both strong men, and knowing well that if the news of the flight of the Collector got abroad, the budmashes would have the city on fire in a dozen places before dawn, and then all would be anarchy, pursued him on horseback, brought him back, took care he made no further attempt to escape, issued an encouraging proclamation in his name, posted off a special messenger to the Collector of Saharunpur, explaining the circumstances, and begging that some competent officer might be sent to take charge of the district, and till this officer arrived carried on the administration with the utmost vigour. When that officer came, the non-fighting Collector was safely guided to Meerut, whence with the earliest convoy he found his way down country, sailed for England, and India knew him no more.

So it is not always the native gentleman who runs away or shows incapacity in moments of danger for high executive office, and it is not always the English gentleman, even when like the officer I have referred to he comes of a blue-blooded stock, who is able to rise to the occasion.

NO RADICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INDIANS AND BRITONS.

The fact is—and this is what I, who claim to have had better opportunities of forming a correct opinion than most men now living, desire to urge—there is no such radical difference between Indians and Britons, as it too generally flatters these latter to suppose. The colour of the skins differ, and the ways and methods of thought of the two races, both descended from the same ancestral stock, have also come under the pressure of different environments to differ during the lapse of long ages, but at the bottom, their hearts are much the same. Each race exhibits in a greater degree of development, virtues and vices, which are less prominent in the other; but if both races be judged impartially, and all *pros* and *cons* be fairly set down on both sides, there is very little grounds for giving preference to either. If you compare the highest and best of our Indians with the ordinary run of the rabble in England, these latter seem little better than monkeys beside grand men. If you compare the picked Englishmen we often get in India, trained and elevated by prolonged altruistic labours, and sobered and strengthened by weighty responsibilities, with the ordinary rabble of India, the former shine out like gods amongst common mortals. But if you fairly compare the best of both though each class will exhibit excellencies and defects less noticeable in the other, neither can as a whole be justly said to be better or worse than the other. No doubt amongst India's 250 millions there are too many of whom no good report can be made, these being the men who chiefly fawn upon, and strive to curry favour with Europeans, and those by whom these latter mostly gauge the national character, but, may I ask, are there any lack of similar ne'er do weels, even amongst the 30 millions of Britons?

The whole misconception arises from the habit Englishmen in India have acquired, of regarding only the blackest side of the Indian and the brightest side of the English character, and from their theories as to the capacities of the two races being based on a consideration of the worst specimens of the one and the best specimens of the other.

If only they could free themselves from race and class bias, and consider the two races as a whole with absolute impartiality, then all their honest, though erroneous, apprehensions as to the results of a much more extended employment of Indians in even the highest offices of the State would disappear, and all the best men amongst them, at any rate, would be as eager to promote as they are now to prevent this necessary and just measure.

If it be asked how it comes that I stand almost alone amongst Englishmen in India in supporting this view, my reply, egotistical as it must seem, is that I really know more about the Indian community than most Englishmen, and to all I have already said as to my opportunities for acquiring such knowledge, I would add this, that ever since I left the service I have made it the business of my life to go round the entire country and visit and associate, on terms of perfect and most friendly equality, with all the ablest and best Indians, in every Presidency and Province, and all India will endorse this fact.

Whether my countrymen will at all heed these words of mine, spoken in all love alike for them and their Indian brethren, I know not, though I do know that, while I am giving all that remains to me of life to promote wise and timely reforms, as essential in their own interests (could they only realize the true facts of the case) as in those of my adopted country, they as a rule denounce me as a dangerous lunatic or a pestilent breeder of broils, forgetting that I am now an old man, with nothing to gain, nothing to look forward to, nothing to hope for, save, if it may be, to effect some little good for all my brethren of all races, ere I go hence, and am no more seen; but whether they give ear to my pleadings or not, I think that they *must* be at least just enough to own that after the experiences I have detailed (and I have not touched upon a tithe of those that I have met with) of courage, fidelity, nobleness, and administrative capacity in native gentlemen of all classes and castes and creeds, I should be base indeed, and altogether unworthy of my English origin, did I not raise my feeble voice in protest when these qualities are denied to Indians, and do all that in me lies to make others understand, what my very exceptional opportunities of learning the truth, and the whole truth, have made clear to *me*.

A. O. HUME.

AN INDIAN EXPERIENCE IN CEYLON.

The report of the Government Agent of Uva which was attached to the Governor's despatch about the consequences of the revenue administration of that province, must surely be one of the most extraordinary documents that have been published by the local Government. One is inclined to ask if the revenue officers who considered it their duty to

EVICT SOME FIFTEEN THOUSAND OF THE VILLAGERS OF UVA

were possessed of no bowels of compassion! How is it that, before turning nearly half of the population of these districts out of house and home for the sake of a few rupees, they did not appeal to the Governor in Council, or represent the matter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Just consider the fact that

DURING A PERIOD OF ONLY FIVE YEARS 2,930 HEADS OF FAMILIES, REPRESENTING 14,650 PERSONS, OR 49 PER CENT.

of the total population of that portion of Uva, were deprived of the whole of their property and left to starve, to beg, or to steal as best they might!

Pity that staunch friend of the Wallapane villagers—the late J. Whitefoord—is not alive to gather from this painful relation some vindication at any rate for his action in regard to the relations between the Government and the villagers, and some proof of the allegations he made against the Government Agent of the Central Province! Truly that "friend of the natives" Mr.—now Sir Fred.—Dickson appears in a new and not altogether favourable light, and all that was asserted against his administration of the province under his charge is proved to be true. It is hardly credible that

AFTER NEARLY A HUNDRED YEARS OF BRITISH RULE

in Uva it is possible that such

A DISASTROUS CHANGE IN THE CONDITION OF THE NATIVE POPULATION

should have taken place, and still more incredible that the officers of the Ceylon Government whose duty it most distinctly was to look after the interests of this population and foster them in every possible way, should have been mainly instrumental in bringing these calamities and disasters upon an innocent people without making as far as is known a single effort for their salvation. The writer happens to be aware that private remonstrances were from time to time made to these officers, and that occasional references were made in the public prints to the disastrous results which must necessarily ensue from a continuation of their action in the matter; but an expression of regret at their inability to go beyond the strict letter of the law was all the response made to these appeals.—*Correspondent, Times of Ceylon.*

IN the earlier years of its not very ancient history, the India Office was greatly concerned as to the secrecy of its proceedings. Those were the days in which documents were produced by lithography. The *Publisher's Circular*, in telling the story of a famous publisher, Mr. Thomas Dean of Messrs. Thomas Dean and Sons, states that the firm used to do the whole of the work of the India Office; the stones having to be rubbed clean every night under the strict superintendence of Government officials, and drawn on again on the following morning. Needless to say, this was a very lucrative business for the parties employed, but an extremely costly business for the taxpayers.

BRITISH INDIA REFORMS.

HOW IT IS PROGRESS IS NOT PROCEEDING AT A GREATER RATE.

A GOOD British friend of the Indian people, writing to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a short time ago, remarked :—

"I was much gratified by reading your speech at Central Finsbury, and there is one passage in the report of it I should desire to echo back, to your own inner ear, in tones of greater hopefulness than I fear you were inspired with at the moment of its utterance.

"Why are *not* British India Reforms included in the Liberal programme?

"Not because all Liberals are indifferent thereto. Not because the general mass of the community are incapable of being made to understand the responsibility under which they lie, and the necessity for action. Not because we are all as callous as the dead to the wants and woes of living men. Not for any, or all, of these reasons. But simply because of the want of well-considered counsels and well-concerted action, to secure that desirable result.

"A far more difficult subject to get explained and understood—one far more likely to be shirked, and evaded, and ignored—was that now usually spoken of under the euphemistic name of 'Social Purity.' Let me tell you how *that* became one of the acknowledged 'planks of the Liberal platform.' A few of us, who felt deeply on the subject, felt our way; got this and that statesman privately committed to it; got the ear of the Central Organization Committee; then at the annual Conference of the Liberal party (if I remember rightly at Ashton-under-Lyne) a resolution was moved on the subject; and an extensively signed 'round robin' was placed in the hands of the leaders of the party, representing that, in the judgment of the signatories, *the time had come* for putting an end to an obscure but too long-lived injustice :—This last step on the eve of a general election,—which brought back Stansfeld to public life, repealed the odious Acts, and convinced a few faint-hearted people that there is no evil that can survive courageous and concerted attack backed by the convictions of the national conscience.

"I verily believe that the greatest of the Indian reforms, if dealt with in a like manner, by concentrated effort, would be speedily attained. Not a multitude all at once. One at a time.

"Now, this idea of permitting India's interests to be all dealt with *in camera*, for instance,—why should not that be fought outright, and conquered, even in the present Parliament? If you gathered up the instances of it into one sheaf, and got them distributed among Parliamentary friends, led by one capable man, who would show that we are actually *going back* in this matter since the days of the open meetings of the Court of Proprietors, you could, in one night, make such an impression as would make it morally impossible for honest questions to be so dishonestly answered again.

"As to the Land Settlement abuses they could be made as plain to the people at the next election as those of Irish landlordism. What you want is concentration of purpose and the concert of a few honest and disinterested men."

True, very true, every word of this communication, if—only the men in Parliament, and out of it, who really care for the Indian people, would take action. Among the latter is the writer. Will he begin?

AN EVENING WITH A NORTH LONDON LIBERAL CLUB ON INDIA.

ON Saturday, the 4th April, Mr. J. C. Mukerji, from Calcutta, addressed a meeting of the Harlesden Liberal Association on British rule in India. A short while ago, on the occasion of his election to the membership of the Association, he was requested to read a paper on the government of his country. But Mr. Mukerji is nothing if not practical, so he consented with the promise that, should the Association, after hearing him, be satisfied as to the wants and demands of his countrymen, it should record its opinion as such by adopting a resolution. The Liberals met him half way. They said that, if in the first instance they were satisfied of a *primâ facie* case being established, they would give him an opportunity of addressing a larger meeting, when the resolution would be adopted. Mr. Mukerji gained his day at the first hearing, however, all credit to the Harlesden Liberals.

Prefacing, among other things, that the knowledge of an average English audience on India and things Indian was on a par with that of the gentleman who, when asked whether he knew the Duke of Wellington, replied, "Yes, he had a friend whose cousin said his father knew the father of the Iron Duke," the speaker begged to be excused if he failed to give a more methodical treatment of the subject he was going to address them on, as pressing duties had prevented him writing out a paper, the composition of which would have rendered obligatory the observance of some sort of arrangement. He would court all possible kinds of questions, therefore, from his audience, challenging his facts and figures, as by that means alone they would elicit from him a stock of information which, he apprehended, would furnish too adequate a data for the startling revelations he was about to make, and which revelations otherwise would challenge their credulity, they being "Englishmen at home," as contradistinguished from "Englishmen abroad."

Mr. Mukerji then dilated on the extreme avidity with which his countrymen were, through the blessings of English education, adopting Western ideas and Western models in the formation of almost each department of the nation's advancement. If he should return home now, he said, he would find his country so materially altered even in a few years, that he, "a native, and to the manner born," should not know it himself, and with Macduff he would have to ask, "Stands India where it did?" Education in its highest sense, he said, was progressive. Its first effect on the Indian mind was to shake off the shackles of time-honoured stupidities and slavish superstitions, in evidence whereof he drew attention to the fact of a Brahmin's presence in their midst that evening addressing an English audience in England. The next result, for those who have eyes to see, must be observed in the nation's aspiration after political emancipation of which the Indian National Congress, studied unprejudicially in its creation, constitution, and procedure, was the visible sign and embodiment.

Intense interest was shown at the manifold phases of the subject: and as on one hand there was not unfrequently almost uproarious hilarity at the smart repartee given by the speaker to his oft-solicited questions, the tragic story which the coloured diagrams in a recent number of *India* disclosed as to the *actual* condition of these millions of our fellow subjects, evoked such a shower of "shame" on the authors of this scandalous state of things as was never before heard within the walls of the Association rooms. One uniform thread ran through the speaker's whole review of British administration of India, namely, the celebrated saying of Cardinal Newman: "The English people," said he, "are as generous as they are hasty and burly, and their repentance for their injustice is greater than their sin." The speech closed with enthusiastic cheering. Mr. Mukerji spoke over an hour and a half, the meeting going out of its way for the nonce by granting him half an hour beyond the "regulation" time. On a vote of thanks being proposed to Mr. Mukerji, Mr. Cash said that the best form of acknowledgment that he could suggest was to adopt the following resolution :—

"That this meeting of the Harlesden Liberal Association having heard, from Mr. J. C. Mukerji, a statement of the desire of the Indian peoples to be granted some share in the making of the laws by which they are governed, do heartily approve this object, and would urge on the authorities that this claim should be admitted and accepted: that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mr. Gladstone." It was carried unanimously and most enthusiastically.

SALT IN INDIA.

THE following particulars, extracted from the *Echo* of a year or two ago, is not without interest just now, when the salt tax in India is causing so much dissatisfaction :—

SIR,—Allow me to say a word or two on the preposterous, nay, monstrous advertisement, to which you refer in a paragraph in your issue of the 24th inst., "That Mr. Godley, Under Secretary of Stat, for India, offers a reward of Rs. 5,000 to the inventor of 'a satisfactory process'—save the mark—for rendering salt unfit for human consumption, whilst still leaving it fit for cattle, and as manure for industrial purposes." The reason for this wanton destruction of one of the chief dietetic necessaries of life is not given, but is only too evident to anyone who knows anything of Indian life, viz., to prevent the poor natives evading the salt tax by taking enough for their simple food from the manure heap or the cattle trough. The tax on salt touches the very poorest in India, young and old, and was made to do so after the mutiny of 1857, as a sort of punishment, and a very heavy one it is, too. I have seen fine, strong men—Coolies—weep when told by some Sepoy to throw down a few handsful of dirty salt, gathered by them from the rocks or sea-beach, and stored in their kamerbund, or linen girdle; and they have appealed to me to protect them in its possession, but I was unable to do so; and I could only promise to give them as much from my own bottle of table-salt if the officer on duty really insisted on making the poor wretches throw down the trifle they had so carefully gathered. Surely, Sir, after nearly thirty years, and when almost an entire generation has passed away, it is high time this galling tax, which presses so hard on the very poorest, should be abolished. Our great dramatist tells us that "Man shows likest God when mercy tempers justice". It is hardly mercy to have continued it so long. I see his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has been lately extolling British rule in India, and in many respects this is an unspeakable blessing; but to many millions of the poorest natives "the British Raj" is only associated with this most oppressive Salt Tax, which touches their every meal. Is it not time to alleviate or remedy this?—Yours truly,

Oxford, Feb. 26th. AN OLD INDIAN.

WISE WORDS FROM THE GREATEST OF INDIAN ECONOMISTS.

Now and again, those who are interesting themselves in the achievement of the objects of the Indian National Congress find a most mistaken impression current. That mistaken impression takes the form of the supposition that the Congress has interested, and continues to interest, itself only in the reform of the Legislative Councils. Nothing could be farther from the truth; nothing more contrary to the fact. The Congress concerns itself in Indian administration of every kind. The Christian Scriptures do not more emphatically commence with an assertion of all-mighty power than did the Congress at the very beginning of its labours lay down the doctrine that it intended to concern itself with anything that affected the well-being of the people or the doings of the Administration. The first resolution passed in the first session earnestly pleaded for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Indian Administration "both here and in England," further urging that the people of India should be adequately represented thereon. What, therefore, appears below will be found to be merely the aspirations of the Congress "writ large" by one who was at one and the same time the most devoted friend of India and cordial supporter of the great national organisation which has already exerted so powerful an influence in Indian current affairs and is destined, if its present vigour be maintained, to be the means of altering the whole Administration in a sense favourable to the Indian people without wrong to the British nation.

We lay before our readers to-day some observations made by the late Mr. Robert Knight, in a letter which he wrote to the late Sir Louis Mallet, then Permanent Under Secretary of State for India, ten-and-a-half years ago. No man, either in the Indian Civil Service or out of it, ever had so complete a grasp of Indian economic questions as had Robert Knight. So strongly were we impressed with this fact in 1877 that, in the Indian daily paper we then edited, we urged the Government to put him into the Viceroy's Council, and make him Finance Minister. Robert Knight was thrown away in India. Despotism withered him and dried up his many rich and fruitful suggestions as surely as the "vehement East wind," and the hot sun, prostrated the prophet Jonah when the worm had eaten the ground which sheltered him. In a country of representative institutions Robert Knight would have been a benefactor of his species beyond any living man at the present day. He was that in himself. But, India being what Sir John Gorst recently described it to be—a despotism of the strongest kind—Mr. Knight's ideas did not find full fruition. One's heart is grieved beyond measure when one sees what, under other circumstances, this truly wise thinker and worker might have accomplished. To use a favourite expression of the day, he was one of "God's Englishmen." Only, it happened that when God had fashioned him for particular work He made no corresponding change in the environment in which that work could alone be done, the environment being such as to stifle all effort in the birth, and to render success impossible.

We quote from Mr. Knight's letter as follows:—

Of the same importance again, is the demand that there should be a real decentralization of the accounts, instead of the sham decentralization inaugurated ten years ago. There can be no wise, no equitable, no enlightened taxation in India, until the liabilities of each province are definitely ascertained, and its taxation proportioned thereto. As matters now stand the Imperial accounts are a chaos. We have had twenty years of improved book-keeping, until I am sick of the very word "accounts."

What we want is statesmanship, and there has been none in my time,

but a reign of mere charlatans, like Sir Richard Temple. His astounding settlement of the Central Provinces was the result of their being no balance-sheet for him to make up for those Provinces; and so he was permitted to tie them round the neck of the other Provinces of India by a land settlement of ninepence the acre, and simultaneously to *create by law* a new body of mushroom landlords at the cost of confiscating the old occupancy rights of the present proprietary. This man ought to be turned inside out before a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry. If I write bitterly, what wonder! I have been writing passionately on the subject to ears that *would* not hear, and eyes that *would* not see: and I would fain strangle the folly in a final death grasp, if I could.

Of vital importance again, is our mode of financing Indian loans, and our grotesque and wild devices in varying the forms of the loans, until no one on earth can understand them. There should be but two great consolidated Stocks—the Public Debt proper, and the Public Works debt; and

England must give the Imperial guarantee

to both. It is madness, it is suicide, not to do so. If we think our hold upon India worth but twenty years' purchase, that very fact tells us, with trumpet tongue, to give the "guarantee." Mr. Gladstone, has only to use his great and persuasive, and illuminative gifts in Parliament, to procure the guarantee at once; and it is insanity to withhold it.

As to Public Works, the people are reduced to so dangerous a condition, from the exhaustion of their food stores and the growing exhaustion of the soil, that we must cover India, at all costs, with cheap railways. Cheap railways! My heart misgives me as I write the words. The nation may as well give up the hope, for good, of ever seeing a cheap railway built in India, while the bureaucrary have anything to do with it. They cannot even *conceive* what a cheap railway means. We must do it from *London*, from the gates of Parliament, if it is to be done at all.

A great State Department of Agriculture again, is a vital necessity of the present condition of affairs. But it will have to be administered from London, from the doors of Parliament. It is Anglo-Saxon thought and wisdom that must come to the help of India.

The half oriental Indian civilian

will never do anything but mar the work, and convert it into a "preserve" of well-paid appointments. We must have a great State Department of Agriculture, administered by men like Mr. Caird, in direct and enduring association with the Secretary of State, "Indian experience" being called into council only when local facts require to be ascertained. I cannot express too earnestly my conviction, that if our rule is to be redeemed from its present reproach, we must put the "Indian departments" aside altogether, except for the carrying out of "orders" issued from this country in the wisdom and strength of counsels that are here at our command.

Finally, I affirm my full conviction that

Our direct rule can never, in the nature of things, hope to be successful.

Strangers and aliens as we are, we can never rule the people of India successfully, as we are now attempting to do, by excluding the people themselves from the administration of their own affairs. Every student of Indian history, every observant traveller in India knows well what splendid government there has been in the country, in all its provinces, at one time and another. The interested notion is propagated amongst us, that native rule has been distinguished for nothing but its weakness and its wickedness. The fact is, the provinces of India have been governed in days gone by, with such wisdom and success, that the Empire is crowded with monuments of the fact.

We, strangers, have largely done our work in India; and as masters and tutors, we do not like to recognise a fact that is dawning on all hands. The sooner we give up the hopeless task of attempting to rule directly, as we are now doing, the better. Our rule is a costly and sickly exotic; ever growing more and more costly, more and more sickly. We should set our house in order, that we may retire with something like respect on the part of the people for what we have done for them. The memory of the anarchy and suffering from which our advent rescued them is fast fading from their minds; and they see to day nothing but our failure, and our selfish injustice towards them. They see our true *morale* in the crime of this Afghan War, the sacrifice of their revenues to party necessities at Manchester, and the selfishness, meanness, and injustice of our every arrangement.

Happily, there is still time to redeem ourselves in their eyes, and the opportunity. England must *herself* assume the responsibilities she has been mischievously persuaded to devolve upon

The small body of public servants

she has sent to India in her name,

Whom she never calls to account for what they do.

The nation hears complaints from India, and forthwith the Secretary of State formally inquires of the men complained against, whether there is any ground for the discontent that is expressed. To a man, they answer "No!" and will, of course, so answer to the end of the chapter. And the stereotyped despatch comes home from India with the customary assurance, "I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that everything is well!" . . . .

I have suggested changes of a somewhat radical nature in the form of the Indian Government, from the Secretary of State downwards. Upon this head I may say, and do say frankly, that I do not feel the ground under my feet so sure as in the matters I have above spoken of. I take the initiative, because

The great mass of men are afraid of committing themselves

to distinct projects of reform, from a care for their own reputa-

tion. My reputation must take care of itself. Some of the reforms I have suggested must, I think, commend themselves to most minds. England at this moment presents the world with the strange spectacle of an ancient but numerically small people, attempting to rule 250,000,000 of the human family—who have come under their government they hardly know how, and without the cost of a sixpence to them—without changing by a hair's breadth or developing by an inch, the governmental institutions which have been evolved out of their own insular and peculiar history. Because England herself is ruled tolerably well upon the whole by a Parliament and a Cabinet which are perpetually changing, her statesmen are so hide-bound by precedents that they think the heavens would fall if they appointed a permanent Secretary of State for India! And so, all through. It is against this crystallised folly that I earnestly protest. Because we did not see very well how to govern India from England, we have devolved our tremendous responsibilities upon a small regiment of men whom we call the Indian Civil Service.

WE PERMIT NO DESPOTISM AT HOME,

but are jealous almost to the point of disease of all Executive action, while we calmly hand over 250,000,000 of people to the covenanted mercies of this handful of men—*and never call them to account for what they do.* Well: they have ruined the noblest dependency a nation ever possessed, and filled 250,000,000 of people, prince and peasant alike, with deadly hatred of us and our rule:—the princes for the high-handed insolence and injustice with which the Bureaucracy treat them; the people for the abject misery to which we have reduced them. And the nation lives meanwhile in a fool's paradise called "The Blessings of British Rule." At all events, I have now "delivered my own soul." Let the nation see to it ere it is "too late."

Postscript.—Since this letter was in type, I have read Mr. Caird's note upon the administrative reforms required in India, and the reply of the Government of India thereto. It is gratifying to me to find that Mr. Caird discerns the necessity of many of the reforms I have been insisting upon for years. The so-called reply of the Government of India is of the usual stereotyped order, a mass of sincere insincerity from beginning to end. Let me instance the way in which it deals with Mr. Caird's demand that the people should no longer be excluded from the higher grades of administrative appointments. "We entirely agree," they say, "with Mr. Caird. The British Parliament and Home Government have repeatedly ordered us to make this reform. We are ardently bent upon it ourselves; and we propose to admit natives '*gradually to one-sixth* of the higher appointments,' upon salaries 'somewhat lower' than are paid to Indian civilians." Observe the subtle *virus* of falsehood that runs through the statement. The "higher appointments" may, in round figures, be estimated to be 250 in number. And one-sixth of these appointments, or forty in all, are "gradually" to be thrown open to natives in the next twenty years! * This is the extent of their "entire agreement with Mr. Caird" and the measure of their loyalty to the "orders" of 1832, repeated over and over again in the fifty years that have intervened. Every one in India knows well, that even this ridiculous concession has been wrung from them only by my own bitter and stinging remonstrances upon the subject in the Calcutta *Statesman*, three or four years ago. They will *never* admit the natives to high appointments as long as these sincere insincere professions are permitted to do duty in the room of actual performance of orders.

Postscript No. 2.— . . . . . It required a long fight after the Mutiny and Rebellion, to get what were called our Resumption proceedings (in particular the Inam Act of 1851) finally abolished, and four years of persistent agitation to wring from the Civilian body a full concession to prince and peasant, of the ancient custom and right of adoption. The agitation in neither case would have been successful, but for the terrible emphasis given to both questions by the events of 1857.

Had an Imperial guarantee been but given to the Indian debt in 1858, when, following Wingate's footsteps, I showed its justice and necessity,

THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO INDIAN DEBT AT ALL TO-DAY.

Had the monstrous folly of giving away the finest tea districts of India, with a pledge never to impose a land-tax upon them, been treated as the insanity it was, how different would the position of that great industry have been to-day, and the Government relations therewith! Had a settled policy of Public Works expenditure but been adopted, a great Public Works Ledger opened, and the accounts of the department kept absolutely distinct from the ordinary revenues and expenditure India would to-day have been convered with a network of railways. Had the Government but been wise enough to impose an export duty upon Indian cotton during the American War, the ryots would have had no silver tires to their cart-wheels, but would have had the value of their fields doubled, by tramways and roadways all over them. Had the land revenue but been wisely administered and nursed, there would have been no wild land settlement of the Central Provinces, with its mushroom landlords to rack-rent the peasantry, and confiscate their occupancy rights.

OUR TREATIES WITH THE NATIVE STATES WOULD HAVE BEEN HONESTLY AND LOYALLY REVISED,

and railways sent in all directions through their territories, under subventions profitable to both them and us. Had cheap tramways been introduced, the crops of remote districts, instead of rotting in the fields, would have gone to feed the starving millions of the Deccan and Mysore. Had the old Indian Army been preserved, as I earnestly advised, there would have been no army problem to perplex us, but an expenditure of £10,000,000 or £12,000,000 only, instead of £16,000,000 or £17,000,000,* under the Horse Guards. There would have been no second Afghan War, with its £40,000,000 or £50,000,000 of expenditure, huge sacrifice of human life, and renewal of Afghan hatred; and no deliberate starving of the people to death in famine. Had the Legislature forbidden the transfer

THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO OUSTING OF OLD PROPRIETORS FROM THEIR ANCIENT HOMESTEADS.

We should have had no improvident loans, no wild income-taxes, no license duty-oppressions, and no silver difficulty, with the ruin it has brought upon the Government and private interests alike. I cannot recall the many instances in which, with clear insight, I have warned the Indian Government of the mistakes it was making, to the conviction of every class except the Government itself, and look back upon the record of it all without feeling how stolid has been the incapacity of the Government, and how deep too often its guilt, as with this Afghan War, in which not only by public appeal, but with urgent private remonstrances, I strove to turn the actors therein, aside from their purpose.

* Even these have now (1891) been taken away.—ED., *India.*

* Now (1891) £20,000,000.—ED., *India.*

THE SALT DUTY AN INCOME TAX OF NEARLY EIGHT PER CENT.

FROM the enquiries we have made, we find that a family consisting of a ryot, his wife and children or dependents, require about ten chittacks of salt every week, so the annual consumption of salt is about $32\frac{1}{2}$ seers; and the duties paid upon it, Rs. 1-10 to Rs. 2, and Rs. 2-0-6 to Rs. 2-8 per maund. But the tradesmen must have their profits for advancing this money. So the ryots had to pay Rs. 1-4 before, and will have to pay Rs. 2-5 now on account of this tax per family. Now let us calculate the income of this family. Sir W. Hunter puts it at Rs. 24 per annum; we shall be liberal, and put it at Rs. 30 per annum. The Salt Duties, therefore, amounted to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the income, during Lord Ripon's time, and they will amount to nearly $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the ryot's income under Lord Dufferin.

Rajah Peary Mohun finds it hard to pay an income-tax of two per cent., and solemnly declares that if a Salt Duty amounting to eight per cent. of the ryot's income be imposed, the miserable wretches will not feel it. This is the class of people whom the nomination system compels Government to accept as the representatives of the intelligent and educated classes. But has Lord Dufferin become so very inhuman as not to perceive that he is more or less taking away from the ryot's mouths the only thing which makes their insipid rice palatable? It is a strange contrast—Lady Dufferin opening hospitals and training nurses for treating female patients, and Lord Dufferin heavily taxing salt with the sure result of increasing illness by a restricted consumption of an absolute necessary of life.—*Indian Mirror.*

AT a meeting of the "Four Hundred," the Council of the Brixton Liberal Association, held on Thursday evening, May 21st 1891, the President, Douglas Young Esq., in the chair, the Rev. J. H. Lummis, according to previous notice, proposed the following resolution:—"That this Council again expresses its deep sympathy with the Indian people in their constitutional efforts to secure wise and salutary administrative reforms; and especially the substitution of the election for the nominative principle in the choice of their supreme and Provincial Councils. That this resolution be notified to the National Liberal Federation with the view of the question of Indian administrative reform being made at an early date one of the active objects of the Liberal party." Mr. Lummis, in a comprehensive speech, explained the various demands of the National Congress, and especially insisted on their reasonableness and moderation. Dr. Harris of Denmark Hill, seconded the motion, and referred with great satisfaction to the meetings at Kennington and elsewhere, and to the high tone and ability of the Indian delegates. Several questions were then asked, and were answered by Mr. Lummis, especially in relation to the electoral qualifications of those on whom the choice of the Councils—or a portion of their membership—will rest. Great gratification was also expressed at the prospect of the Congress being held in England in 1892. After some remarks from the President, in which he urged all the members of the council to subscribe to INDIA and read that journal, the resolution was passed unanimously, amid applause.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS RESPECTING INDIA.

Since our last issue the following Blue Books concerning India have been published:—

1. Telegraphic correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy regarding the amendment of the Indian Factory Act of 1881.

Upon this Return the *Observer* remarks that it might well be entitled "How India is Governed," for it is an object lesson in Indian administration. The amending Act may be a good or a bad one; it certainly seems in accord with legislation on the subject in this country; but the most striking feature of the telegrams which make up the whole correspondence is the evidence which it affords that the Act is forced on India by the British Government, which for this purpose is Lancashire, against the judgment of those primarily responsible for the government of India, and that the resistance of the latter is on all hands overborne by peremptory orders from home. The last sentence of the correspondence is the keynote of the whole. Lord Cross telegraphs to Lord Lansdowne:

"By decision of Her Majesty's Government, Bill must be passed without delay."

Throughout, the Secretary of State is urging on a reluctant Government.

"Expedite statement of your views;"
"Expedite transmission telegraphic summary;"
"Bill must be proceeded with and passed this session;"

and so on. The final differences reduced themselves to two. On March 7th last the Viceroy telegraphed that the Bill passed the Select Committee with difficulty, and subject to two modifications. Women were to be allowed to work at night on the shift system, and children were to be allowed to work two shifts, each not exceeding four hours, with a minimum interval of two hours. Lord Lansdowne regarded these concessions as fair, consistent with the health of the operatives, and essential to the passing of the Bill immediately. But this is not sufficient for the India Office. Lord Cross replies that women may work at night, but there must not be more than eleven hours' work in twenty-four and one and a-half hours' rest; and as to the children, he will not agree to the work of two shifts each day: it must be two shifts one day and one the next, so that no child works more than twelve hours in two days; and then follows the passage already quoted:

"Bill must be passed without delay."

Whether it is prudent to force legislation, not only in principle, but down to the smallest detail, on India, from an office in London, against the strenuous opposition of those chiefly concerned, we need not pause to discuss. There is the fact, and a very striking and anomalous fact it is.

2. East India (Manipur). Nos. I and II. Correspondence relating to Manipur. Price 11d.

These papers will in so short a time form the subject of Parliamentary debate, and that debate will be so fully reported in India, that there is no need for us to give a digest of them here. Suffice it to say that by the chief organs of the political parties in Britain the Government of India is held, by this correspondence, to have proved itself to some extent in the wrong in its dealings with Manipur.

3. East India (Progress and Condition). Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the year 1889-90. Twenty-sixth Number. Presented pursuant to Act of Parliament and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on 15 May, 1881. Delivered 23rd May, 1891. Price 2s.

"He being dead yet speaketh." The "he" is Charles Bradlaugh: the "speaking" is the production of this statement on the date provided by Act of Parliament for the first time for many years. This is wholly Mr. Bradlaugh's doing. In the last Session of Parliament he again and again pointed out the breach of the law of which the Government of India was guilty. During the last Budget debate Mr. Bradlaugh spoke as follows:

"Last year a statement which is issued annually and is by statute required to be issued at a particular time of the year was issued before the annual explanation and enabled the House to check the matters submitted by the right hon. gentleman, and to correct errors into which he had fallen by

FOLLOWING TOO BLINDLY THE INFORMATION SUBMITTED BY PERMANENT OFFICIALS,

this statement called a statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India is not even now in the hands of members. And why not? I see by the votes this morning, I think I must be mistaken, some record of a document having been laid on the table last night, but I went into the library and found nothing of it there except an endorsement and some blank sheets of paper. I ask why is this statement withheld? It should have been laid on the table before. The statute 21 and 22 Vict., cap. 106, sec. 53, says that the financial accounts are to be laid before Parliament during the first fourteen days of May, and such accounts shall be accompanied by a statement prepared from detailed reports from each Presidency and district in India in such form as shall best exhibit the moral and material progress and condition in each Presidency. Why has the statute been disobeyed? The English Law Officers are not in their places. I do not know whether the Irish Attorney-General can assist me, but clearly a misdemeanor has been committed by somebody. I do not say the Under Secretary is criminally responsible, but certainly somebody is for having destroyed an exact statutory command. Common decency requires that those matters absolutely necessary to the understanding of the accounts of India, should be put into the hands of members at least at such a time as will enable them to examine and master them. If I do not know the thoroughly frank and confiding nature of the right hon. gentleman, the Under Secretary, I should imagine that he had withheld it for the purpose of preventing me from making the same use of it as I did last year. But I know that is impossible, and I know that his legal advisers at the India Office would not have permitted him to wilfully break the statute even if his personal inclination tempted him to do so, both perfectly untenable positions. I may ask the Committee, I think, to express disapproval; and if the offence is repeated next year, I shall have to ask the House to express disapproval of this

ABSOLUTE DISREGARD OF THE LAW BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

entrusted with its enforcement and maintenance. It is true, as argued by the right hon. gentleman that this semblance of Parliamentary indifference to Indian affairs has arisen since the Imperial Government has been charged with the administration of Indian affairs. When the East India Company had its charter, Parliament and Government of the day were jealous in the extreme, and inquiry after inquiry was held, not a sham, but real inquiry, but to-day it is pretended—I will not say it of the right hon. gentleman because he is not capable of any pretence that does not represent his real official feeling—but I have come to know that

OFFICIAL KNOWLEDGE AND EXACT KNOWLEDGE ARE NOT ALWAYS THE SAME,

it is pretended now that parliamentary inquiry would embarrass the Government, and prevent the Viceroy and the Secretary of State doing what is wanted. But it was not so when the East India Company had its charter. Parliament then held inquiry and the result was good to India and not harm. If the Government break their promises, at least they should abide by the law, as less important persons have to do."

It will be seen, from the better conduct this year, what good effect Mr. Bradlaugh's criticisms had upon the India Office. If an object lesson as to the necessity for quasi-representative institutions in India, in which control over the Departments could be exercised, were wanted, and the good which they might do, this observance of the law by the India Office because of Mr. Bradlaugh's persistent effort would furnish that lesson.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION IN LONDON AND IN INDIA.

A Parliamentary Return has recently been issued showing that thirty-one deaths have occurred upon which a coroner's jury have returned a verdict of death from starvation, or death accelerated by privation. "Self-neglect and irregular living," was the verdict in one instance, "exposure and self-neglect" in another. If a similar return were issued for India of deaths for one year only from starvation and diseases caused by want of food and clothing, whether certified to by a coroner's jury or not, the Blue Book containing the particulars would be one of the largest ever published. The ninety-eight pages of the Manipur Blue Book would prove a mere *brochure* by the side of the Starvation Returns. Yet there is great excitement over the Manipur business in India and in England, and absolute quiescence in both countries regarding the far more important daily well-being of many millions of British subjects.

PORTRAIT OF SIR W. WEDDERBURN, BART.

Mr. Herkomer has finished the portrait of Sir William Wedderburn, painted for his Indian friends at Bombay, and it was on view at the studio in Ebury Street, on the 2nd and 3rd instant. It bears the inscription: "Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Bart., President of the 5th Indian National Congress. Memorial portrait subscribed for by Sir W. W.'s Indian friends at a public meeting held in Bombay on his leaving India, May, 1887." The portrait has been removed to the offices of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, 25, Craven Street, Charing Cross, where it will remain on view for some time, prior to its being forwarded to Bombay. Indian and English friends of Sir William Wedderburn, are invited to call at 25, Craven Street. The portrait is greatly liked by those who have seen it, and is regarded as an excellent likeness.

INDIA.
A JOURNAL FOR THE DISCUSSION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

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INDIA.

JUNE 5, 1891.

INDIAN MUNICIPAL SELF-GOVERNMENT A GREAT SUCCESS.

THE OFFICIAL TESTIMONY FROM ALL PARTS OF THE EMPIRE.

IF Lord Salisbury was sincere in the eulogium he pronounced at Glasgow recently on municipal self-government, he will read what is said in the new number of the *Moral and Material Progress* (*East India*) *Report* recently issued. If the Prime Minister would peruse these particulars with an unprejudiced mind, he would find himself compelled to unsay what he said early in last Session regarding the unfitness of the people of India for representative institutions. Few people have any conception of the extent to which local self-government in India has already been carried. This is partly the fault of the authorities, for, in none of their publications, do they put the complete facts in an easily-understood form. It may surprise many to learn that there are in India :—

Municipalities ..	.. 755	Indian Members :	
Local Boards ..	.. 892	Non-official ..	17,000
		Non-official and official, about	20,000
Total ..	..1647		

These bodies have control of funds amounting in the aggregate to Rx.7,098,000. They have the charge of all municipal business, including streets, roads, water supply in all cities and most towns; of local roads, schools, hospitals, dispensaries, and sanitary improvements in the interior of districts, and of harbour works, port approaches, and pilotage. Two questions only as to the success or non-success of municipal institutions can be dealt with to-day: (1) Is there any public spirit at the back of these institutions? (2) Are the institutions doing good work? These questions we will answer in the words of the official reporters.

Is there any public spirit at the back of municipal institutions? Perhaps the best way of testing this is to observe what takes place at the elections. An examination of the facts shows that much greater interest is displayed than, for example, Englishmen exhibit in county council elections. In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh 32 per cent. of those entitled to vote registered their votes. "At the contested elections in Nowabganj 96 per cent. and in Jalesar 89 per cent. of the registered electors appeared at the polls and voted." "In all the municipalities of the united provinces the average attendance of members at each meeting was 63 per cent. of the whole number; in one town the average attendance of members at each meeting exceeded 90 per cent." At Mooltan, in the Panjab, 70 per cent. of the registered voters polled, and so keen was the contest that the successful candidate won by a single vote only. The Panjab, perhaps, is the most backward of the provinces in regard to contests at elections, but the municipal spirit is highly developed. The Lieutenant-Governor says: "The working of the several municipal bodies was on the whole good; . . . the desire for improved conservancy is becoming more general; where the municipal revenues are large, there is a growing disposition on the part of committees to undertake large schemes of drainage, sewerage, and water supply." In Lower Burma "seats were hotly contested at Rangoon, Akyab, and Bassein." In the Madras provincial districts "where contests took place 52·2 per cent. recorded their votes against 44·9 per cent. in the previous election of 1887." The same remark generally holds good of Bombay. "In most towns there were closely contested contests for some of the streets." The Government remarks that "generally a fair amount of concern was evinced in the elections by those entitled to vote. Even in some of the smaller municipalities 70 per cent. of the electorate recorded their votes." In the Southern Mahratta "districts the elections elicited considerable interest, while in Gujerat they called forth little enthusiasm." Sometimes we hear of municipalities being disestablished, and great is the rejoicing in Anglo-Indian circles. A passage in the Panjab report shows what is the character of these disestablishments. "After the end of the year ten small municipalities were disestablished, partly because the people lacked interest in municipal affairs, and partly because the towns had shrunk in importance; in none of these places did the town income exceed Rx.190 a year,"—that is, less than £130 per annum. Surely it was foolish to set up municipalities on so small a scale.

As for the manner in which the work has been done by the Municipalities let the following observations tell their own story:—

"A great deal of local business is done, considerable funds are raised and spent, and valuable service to the public is performed by local bodies."—*India Office Reporter.*

"Many members are diligent in their attendance to work, whether at meetings for business or on benches for decision of petty criminal cases."—*Id.*

Calcutta: "The new commissioners exhibited much interest in their duties;" "the principal new works undertaken during the year were the extension of the water supply and drainage to the suburban areas recently brought within the municipality; the construction of a new arterial road, seventy feet broad, through the most thickly inhabited parts of Calcutta, from one railway terminus to another." "During the last nine years the proportion of officials sitting on municipal bodies", in Bengal, "has fallen from 26 to 16 per cent. and the proportion of Europeans from 23 to 9 per cent."—*Id.*

North-West Provinces and Oudh. "The municipal administration of the year was, on the whole, satisfactory; the long-felt want of an adequate supply of pure drinking water was being met in four of the most important towns; the conservancy system was being improved; taxation was increased in some towns without unduly burdening the people."—*Sir Auckland Colvin.*

What Sir James Lyall had to report generally of the Panjab we have already quoted. This further sentence should not be overlooked. "The outlay on medical relief, hospitals, vaccination, etc., came to 8 per cent. of the income of the year; while several municipalities continued to take great interest in the medical education of women, and the training of Indian midwives and nurses."

Madras. "In the great majority of municipal towns, the councillors have taken an intelligent interest in the matters with which they have to deal; taken as a whole the administration of municipal affairs during the year has been fairly good; and there has been *a very decided advance* in respect to vaccination and public works, while education, medical services, and sanitation all show satisfactory progress."—*Madras Government.*

Of the Local Boards, what is said of the institutions in the North-West Provinces applies generally. "The Government report that most of the Boards took a wholesome and lively interest in the important matters entrusted to their care, and in no case did the Government find it necessary to interfere."

Very shortly, in Parliament, the question of the fitness of the Indian people for a very small measure of representation will be under discussion. May we hope that due heed will be given to the admirable fitness for self-rule which, Anglo-Indian officials being the judges, the people everywhere have displayed?

SOME STRIKING FEATURES OF BRITISH INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

MR. ROBERT BROWN, of Pollokshields, Glasgow, a few years ago, wrote a most admirable pamphlet on "British Rule in India", in which he most skilfully analysed the expenditure and administration of the Government of India He indicated many blots in that administration. Mr. Brown has now produced another pamphlet, the immediate occasion of its publication being the debate on the opium revenue in the House of Commons. Our readers will be able to judge of Mr. Brown's intimate acquaintance with the details of Indian questions by the passages which we cite below:

DEPENDENT INDIA "SWEATED" IN ENGLAND; SELF-RULED COLONIES ESCAPE SCOT FREE.

(1) In past years we have expended nearly £1,000,000 of India's money upon buildings directly or indirectly connected with the transaction of India's business. The principal of these are:

India Office ..	£540,000	Engineering College ..	£100,000
Library ..	70,000	Lunatic Asylum ..	38,000
Store Depôt ..	68,000		

(2) All who, in this country, are engaged in any way in India's behalf, from the right hon. the Secretary of State with a salary of £5,000, down to the charwomen at 14s. per week, and the boy copyist at 4d. per hour, are paid from Indian funds. Total for the year, including office and incidental expenses, **£222,069**

(3) Besides paying passages out and home of all employees, and salaries while in India, the amount charged in the Indian accounts does not represent all their cost to India. A large sum appears in the Home accounts for men who, for the time being, are giving no service.

Civil furlough and absentee allowances **£282,135**
Military do. do. **285,847**

(4) For the transport of troops five ships were built by India at a cost of £1,118,787. The current year's expenses (largely in excess of what was required under the old East India Company's system) is **£210,145**
besides passages in other ships **10,853**

(5) Besides paying as above, during actual engagement, for whatever troops the Cabinet think proper to send, India is charged a lump sum for estimated cost of enlisting and training recruits, etc... .. .. **£600,000**

(6) Contribution toward the expenses of H.M.'s ships employed in Indian seas .. .. **£4) 075**

(7) India is charged a proportion of the pensions of the whole British forces that may have served any part of their time in India, besides all her own Civil Service.

Total for the year £3,600,882
Less subscriptions received in aid .. 110,919
£3,489,963

At various dates from 1834 to 1867 sundry establishments of the E. I. Company and of the Government were abolished, and officials pensioned in compensation for loss of employment, instead of being transferred to other offices. In connection with the first case (now 57 years old), there are still pensions £4,745 running, and for others from 57 to 33 years old £6,809. The total amount now current is £37,265 (included in above total). The pensioners embrace all ranks, from the highest down to clerks and labourers.

(8) India is charged for Her Majesty's political establishments in China, a Mission to the Court of Persia, and a Consulate at Jeddah, ... **£26,444**

The foregoing (**5,167,531**) are only some of the more noticeable of the charges made by our Government upon India, and I do not need to argue their fairness or unfairness further than by comparing them with similar items in our colonial accounts. For such a comparison wherein lies the difference between India and the Colonies, except it be that, while all alike buy from us and sell to us, some of the latter, unlike India, try to shut us out of their markets by protective tariffs?

In the Estimates—1891-92—presented to Parliament

THE VOTES FOR THE COLONIES

are as follows:—

Civil departments, including part salaries of Governors, etc., ...		**£169,616**
Military purposes, ...	£2,002,434	
Toward which they are "*expected*" to contribute, ..	252,250	
		1,750,184
Navy — Dockyards abroad,	£75,240	
,, Victualling yards ,,	6,040	
,, Hospitals ,,	11,185	
,, Armaments ,,	9,060	
		101,525
Administration (London), ...		**42,382**
Pensions (including 34 Governors), ...		**24,911**
Public buildings upkeep (unspecified), ..		
		£2,088,618

The net result of all this figuring is that, while every stick and stone at home and abroad and every bit of service that can by hook or crook be designated Indian, is paid for out of Indian funds, the British taxpayer generously expends an ascertained sum of over £2,000,000 for the real or supposed benefit of the Colonies, with the additional unascertainable cost of a large number of war ships and their crews. . . . . .

These do not by any means exhaust the list, but they must suffice as specimens of "Home" expenditure, not one item of which would we venture to charge to a power that could give effect to a protest; and very possibly the others, in which more or less value has been given, would have to be reduced materially were the amounts the subject of arrangement between equals. They show that what India requires is not eleemosynary aid from the Home exchequer; that all she requires is a lightening of the oppressive and unjust burdens imposed upon her by her suzerain; and if the proposal to grant a subvention from Home to fill up the opium revenue vacuum be carried, not the least beneficial purpose it will be the compelling the British taxpayer to look into and rectify the case of his much abused Indian brother.

RAILWAY ACCOUNTS.

But I must go further than a charge of mere muddlement. The capital accounts are sometimes *deliberately cooked*, as one specific case will show. For the construction and equipment of three railways £16,730,622 was raised by the Secretary of State, but of this sum about £2,000,000 has been shunted into a siding and has never gone near these railways. The following table shows the extent till March 1889 to which the accounts of these three railways have been thus tampered with:—

NAME OF RAILWAY.	Sterling Money raised.	Actual Exchange. Average 1886-89.	So-called Contract Rates of Exchange.	Actually Received by Government.	Paid or to be paid to Railway Co.'s.	Balance Misappropriated.
	£		Rs.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Southern Mahratta	5,830,957	Rs. 14 1-5th per £.	12 per £	8,279,959	6,997,148	1,282,811
Do. on account of Mysore Railway	2,224,000		17·931d. per R.	1,738,080	1,638,280	99,800
	7,054,957			10,018,039	8,635,428	1,382,611
Indian Midland ...	5,172,929		12½ per £	7,345,559	6,466,161	879,398
Bengal Nagpur......	4,502,736		13 per £	6,393,885	5,853,557	540,328
	16,730,622			23,757,483	20,955,146	2,802,337

Columns 2 and 4 may be fractionally inaccurate, as the figures for each year are not given separately in the official statement.

The total sterling amount raised ostensibly for the construction and equipment of the lines is thus £16,730,622, which has been, or will be, handed over to the Companies at what are euphemistically called the "contract rates of exchange"—mostly 12, 12½, and 13 rupees per £, and aggregating Rx. 20,955,146. But the Secretary of State, in exchanging his £s for Rs, has got from the buyers of his bills Rx. 23,757,483, the difference—Rx. 2,802,337—having mysteriously stuck somewhere, and the Railway Companies are told to enter the reduced amounts in their books as the full equivalent of the money raised in their names. Rather hard on the Railway Companies, an innocent reader may fancy! Not a bit! Not the least curious part of the necromancy is that the railway shareholders do not need to care one straw whether the Government gave them fifteen or five rupees per £, as the guaranteed interest is calculated on the *full sterling amount*. Moreover, if there be a loss made in working the lines the Government bears it to the full extent of the guarantee, and if a profit be earned beyond the guaranteed interest Government and the Companies divide it between them, so that it is a case of "heads I win" for the Companies and "tails you lose" for the Government representing the taxpayers.

Query.—Has this system been followed with the other railways? If so, to what extent are their capital accounts vitiated?

IRRIGATION WORKS.

In point of magnitude these rank second in importance among the industrial undertakings of the Indian Government, although, as specimens of disastrous financing, they take precedence even of the railways. The total net loss over the whole system for the year is Rx. 661,629 on a capital expenditure of Rx. 30,952,796. What the aggregate deficit has been since their commencement we are not informed, but an analysis of the accounts for the single year gives them even a blacker look than the abstract presents. Some of the canals, etc., do not pay working expenses, others yield a surplus insufficient to pay interest on capital at the moderate rate of 4 per cent., and some, more fortunate, actually do yield a clear profit to Government. The whole may be thus tabulated:—

15 "Major" works yield clear profit, ...			Rx. 525,035
31 ,, ,, show net loss,	Rx. 490,926		
87 "Minor" ,, show balance of total loss over total gain, ..	695,738		
			1,186,664
Balance of loss as per official accounts, ..			Rx. 661,629

Here, as in the similar case of railway deficit, the plausible fallacy is ready—that, while remunerativeness is a very desirable thing, it must be subordinated to the priceless advantages of getting good crops from the ground which, if wholly dependent upon rainfall, would be a desert; and a very comforting theory it is for an extravagant or incompetent official department to take refuge in. But the same theory would, with equal force, apply to a farm on the sandy sea-shore or on the top of Ben Nevis; and the short and the long of the matter is that to the extent of Rx. 1,186,654 (not 661,629) the inhabitants of India generally are taxed, either to subsidise the farmers in those localities, or to salary their overseers, or to pay their rents.

Whether or not the Government irrigation works are on the whole, the blessing they are represented to be is a question somewhat doubtful, as complaints are sometimes made of farmers, who had good wells of their own digging, being compelled to pay for canal water whether they used it or not. As no official explanations are published the public can only guess at the reason why the irrigation business is so disastrous, and why, in the face of such experience, good money is still being thrown after bad; but the history of one or two of the concerns, as told in the 1871 parliamentary report, suggests a good and sufficient reason.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CIVIL COURT AND COURT FEES ACT.—I.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—The Court Fees Act VII of 1870 is greatly oppressing the poor people of India. During the Hindu sovereignty of India the dispensing of justice was deemed a part and parcel of the sovereign's duty, and the people had not to pay for it. The same practice continued to be observed by the Muhammadan emperors, who are now styled the barbarous and ignorant of the East. When the British Government first introduced the principle "Pay for and take justice" the cost was not excessive. But the scale of fees is gradually increasing.

It does not matter how much time a case will take, but the full amount will have to be paid when you first enter the court, or your complaint will be rejected. A plaintiff files a plaint valued at Rs. 1,000; he must first of all pay Rs. 75 in court fees, besides other costs. After, and sometimes before, the summons is issued, the defendant enters into a compromise with the plaintiff. But even in that case he must bear the heavy institution fees. This rule also holds good even when the case is heard *ex parte*. It takes very little time to dispose of *ex parte* cases, and the Government takes care that the defendants in these cases may not be unduly taxed. Hence the pleaders are allowed half-fees. But the Government itself takes the entire amount of its own share. It may be urged that unless this is done it would be impracticable to maintain the courts. But this argument has no force.

At the present time, litigation is sometimes a matter of necessity, and sometimes it is a luxury. The latter is the case generally when the rich and the powerful resort to the law courts. Cases which arise out of necessity, such as rent suits and registered mortgage suits, are generally compromised, or heard *ex parte*. But even then the defendants have to bear the entire costs. Consequenly defendants seldom allow such cases to be heard *ex parte*, as they think they will be not gainers by so doing. They, therefore opppose, rightly or wrongly, oppose, but sometimes successfully, the claims of the plaintiffs. Hence the work of the courts has increased. The Government has devised two sets of laws for one and the same man. If the cause of action arises a few yards beyond the Mahratta Ditch, the party has to pay according to the full rate; and if it arises within the Ditch the charge is less, as Act XV of 1882 (Presidency Small Cause Court Act) and the practice of the original side (High Court). The principle upon which process fees are levied is also incomprehensible. The duty of fixing the scale of process fees has been delegated to the High Court. In mofussil courts there is a poorly-paid clerk, a Nazir, and few peons, the last-named drawing Rs. 8 per month at the highest. A peon is generally entrusted with processes, numbering some forty or fifty, for service, and it is done so within the course of two or three days. The remuneration of a peon getting the maximum pay for the working days amounts to one rupee or so, but the Government charges the party separately, and realises almost fifty rupees. What is the principle? I do not find any? The "administration of justice is a commodity".

I shall, with your permission, continue these observations.

PUNDIT RAKHAL CHANDRA TEWARY,
Pleader and Honorary Magistrate.
Diamond Harbour, 24 Perganas, Bengal.

THE SPOLIATION OF INDIA: *AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.*

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—I read your article about an M.P., who attempts to demonstrate that the English rule in India is far from being a blessing to the people there. I was one of the principal famine officers in Bengal thirteen years ago, and the subject of population in connection with rack renting and poverty was continually on my mind. I stated my views to anyone who would listen, and now if you and your readers will read what I have to say, I think I can show that although the English rule in India may not be an unmixed blessing to the great mass of the people, it appears somewhat harsh to blame the Government for the present deplorable state of affairs which I have no reason to suppose you have exaggerated. Darwin has fairly demonstrated that millions are born which cannot possibly exist; this fact is apparent to me as I walk in my garden, in the woods, and as I sit by the river bank, so far as the lower orders of creation are concerned. When we turn to man we find that he also increases in geometrical ratio.

It has been calculated that the produce of a single pair, if unchecked, would in a hundred generations not only cover the whole surface of the earth flattened out, but form a solid column of human beings which would reach three thousand times from here to the sun. Hitherto the checks to increase have been so effectual that every living man, woman, and child could be contained in a cube whose side measures a thousand yards.

I think I have read that three million Europeans were killed during the Crusades. The black death killed millions. The wars which resulted from Luther's doctrines killed millions. Then Napoleon checked population considerably, and any student of history will see the truth of the classic aphorism, *Pars multa virarum exceederunt in bello.* Since, however, the English have had India, we have as it were been flying in the face of nature and sternly interfering with checks to increase. A large Zemindar told me that in former days a thousand ryots were killed by tigers on his estate yearly. But English bullets have made tigers as rare as dodos on that estate as I can myself testify. Then I remember our doator used to vaccinate every child he could catch. We gave large rewards for the destruction of snakes, wolves, dogs, and every animal likely to check population. It was quite as much as my place was worth to sanction a single case of infanticide, suttee, murder, and any such deeds. Whilst any of the last things I did before leaving India was to see that each police station had a good supply of cholera pills.

Now, who is bold enough to step forward and declare that the Government was to blame for all these things, and yet it appears pretty clear that the Government was doing all it could to produce the great calamity of over-population which you very justly deplore?

When I got a stern order from the Government to let no one starve during the famine. I stored hundreds of tons of rice, reflecting at the same time as I saw the people marrying and giving in marriage without a thought for the future that this benevolence cannot go on for ever, since population increases whilst the food supply stands still. If we could even educate the people to eat leaves and grass, a generation or two of increase in geometrical ratio would see every herb consumed.

I often began the subject, talking to Indian statesmen, but they avoided the subject as an unpleasant one, far beyond their intellect, or rather beyond their power, satisfactorily to solve.

I caused some amusement by proposing to lead emigrants to less thickly populated portions of the earth, but the scheme fell through—1st, because the people refused to stir; and, 2nd, because to do any real good at least fifty millions should leave their country for their country's good.

There appeared a ray of hope when I heard some English statesman had discovered a remedy for over-population, but subsequently I was told that the scheme, not meeting general approval, fell through.

Then, as regarding rack-renting, "The real value of anything is just as much as it will bring." A few benevolent landlords will in every country let tenants share their profits, but as a rule, as long as the world lasts, the saying "live and let live" will be merely in men's mouths when it does not interfere with their supposed interests.

Although I could say much more on the subject, I must conclude now by remaking that perhaps the people may say: "Weep not for us but for yourselves and your children," for we shall have something of the same problem to solve ourselves before long.—Yours truly, ———

THE TERM "BABU."

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—In your last number of India, dated 16th January 1891 you have published a letter from Babu Satish Chandra Ghosh, in which he appeals to you to take the lead in introducing the word "Mr." instead of "Babu." As I am a Babu, I hope you will kindly allow me to add a few remarks to it. I am very sorry, indeed, that I failed to be much impressed by the force of his arguments on behalf of his appeal. In reply to his saying that Anglo-Indian officials use the term "Babu" in anything "but a respectful sense," and that that is one reason why we should give up the denomination, I can only refer him to an article which appeared in *Bhârati* (the most leading vernacular journal of Bengal), in which Babu Dwijendra Nath Tagore well remarked that as we rebuke our servants sometimes by saying "Hold your tongue, *sir*," will all the knights and baronets of the British kingdom give up their title of "Sir" because it has been used in that corrupted sense? About the origin of the word "Babu", it is also said in the same article that as "sir" is a contraction of "sire," so the term "Babu" is a corruption of "Bâbâ" (which means *father*). Satish Babu might as well say that he could find no origin of the term "Baba" in Sanscrit literature, and, therefore, we should not use it to call our fathers. About the plea that Mr. is used for everybody in the National Congress Report I consider it to be a great mistake on the part of the Congress Committee to use Mr. for every Indian; in my opinion every Indian must have his own provincial epithet. The writer pleads that Babu is not applied to people of any other province but Bengal, and that is a reason that we should give it up; he knows as well as I do that Babu is a Bengali word and that the Bengali language is only spoken in Bengal and nowhere else. If I am allowed to follow the drift of his argument, I think Satish Babu means to convince us that India should have a common language, and according to him, that language he suggests to be English. I quite agree with the first part of his proposal, and, instead of concluding the latter part too soon, if he takes a deliberate view of the languages of the country he will find that all the languages have a common basis, which is Sanscrit. I shall consider it as an act of a cosmopolitan if he would take recourse to Sanscrit as the common ground on which all the Hindus can meet. In

that case I shall be the first person to follow him in his course. India is not much smaller than the whole of Europe; so that you can easily imagine how far it is possible for the languages to agree except in the origin. We learn English for technical purposes only; that is no reason that we should give up our own languages, and take up everything English. If the word "denationalising" has got any meaning at all, it can, in its fullest sense, be applied to the constant tendency of some Indians towards Anglicising. The writer says that the word "Babu" "makes a distinction even between the Bengalis themselves," as those who go back from Europe do not call themselves "Babus." I think the only cure for that Anglomania is to call them "Babus" whether they like it or not, or if you are too considerate you can try to convince them of the validity of your argument in your favour; but that is no reason why you should call everyone Mr. because some of them (only a limited few) do not like to be called "Babu." It is all very well to be called Mr. while in England, because it is such a great bother to go on explaining the term "Babu" to everybody, but at the same time I take it to be a very great honour when an Englishman in England writes me as "Babu," as a most respected acquaintance of mine always does to me. At the same time I shall be the last person to be *Misterised* or *Esquired* by my countrymen when I get back to India. If coming to England is a privilege of being called Mr., will my countrymen call Babu Rohinee Kanta Nág, who has come to Italy, as "Signor" to indicate his visit to Italy? Then, to compromise between those who might not like to have Mr. in exchange of Babu, the writer gives some ingenious contractions of certain Sanscrit words and their grammatical inflections. I can only say that those abbreviations will convey no idea to the English-reading public unless you give their meanings in all your dictionaries; so I think the best course is to transliterate them in full and not to abbreviate them, as the languages of India are not so commonly read by the English readers.

Yours truly,

Cambridge. A BABU.

THE RIOTS AT BENARES.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—The gathering clouds of discontent and excitement have at last disturbed the sereneness of the Benares atmosphere. With a suddenness never heard of before in this sacred city of the Hindus since the year 1857 the whole population struck work on the forenoon of the 15th April as soon as the cry of "Hindu religion in danger" was spread everywhere. Every one, young and old, high and low, was seen hurrying to the Ramjie temple, the rumoured demolition of which was the real cause of their excitement. No one anticipated that the excitement would end in a serious riot; but the highly combustible religious feelings of the Hindus were not to be cooled down without a serious explosion. The least incentive was sufficient to call forth the pent-up feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction. There were nearly twenty-five thousand people assembled on the site of the temple, ready to die if the temple was touched. To an outsider and a non-Hindu, the sight of so many men with a determined resolution to oppose demolition, cannot fail to show to him how strong is the hold of religion on Hindu minds notwithstanding a century and a half of British rule in India with all its civilizing and educating elements. It may strike an outsider to ask himself quietly "What is it that gives so much charm and fascinating power to Hindu religion over Hindu hearts? Why should they value their religion more than their lives?" The simple answer to this question found in the fact that the Hindus have lost their country and independence, and everything that was their own save their religion. Undoubtedly it is the Hindu religion which maintains the Hindu nationality intact despite sweeping storms and disastrous calamities. If there were no Hindu religion Hindus as a nation would cease to exist. Under the circumstances is it meet for a Christian Government to interfere in our religious and social matters? How would the English like our meddling with their social and religious matters, with their churches and chapels? Setting aside these questions for the present which some of you may describe as being "sentimental," was it proper and consistent with high statesmanship, I ask, on the part of the officials, to attempt to destroy one of our religious institutions without consulting us? The municipal commissioners who voted with the chairman for the demolition of the temple, did not at all represent the opinions of the Hindu community. They might, with some show of justice, claim to be the representatives of the people in political matters, and in that respect their opinions would have been of some weight; but how can such members who have no fixed faith or whose religious belief has been rendered latent by the influences of the so-called modern civilization, profess to be able to pass any opinion concerning the Hindu religion? The Hindus are not bound to abide by the views of such persons, be they Hindus, Muhammadans, or Europeans. I ask you to say if the authorities did not commit a grave and inexcusable blunder by deliberately ignoring the opinions of our Pandits and priests, which were directly opposed to their own. They were not even consulted or asked to give any opinion at all. The chairman of the municipality, who is no other person than the magistrate himself, refused to consult anyone authorised to give any safe opinion on a matter like this, for he laboured under the conviction that with the assistance of the title-hunting and favour-seeking municipal commissioners he would steer clear of all difficulties, and have his object of demolition accomplished.

Undoubtedly the water and the drainage works are works of great public utility, and no educated man would ever oppose them on such principles; but the ignorant masses of our community, with whom religion is a matter of first and primary importance, would choose to prefer drinking impure water to the use of the chemically filtered and purified water at the cost of their religious institutions. Such is the brief preamble to the history of the Benares temple case, which eventually ended in loss of life and property.

The assembled crowd near the site of the temple were infuriated on being told by some one, either connected with the water-works, or by some of the wire-pullers, that the temple would be demolished very soon. In their blind fury and fanaticism they broke the water-pipes, and damaged the pumping engine. Even this act of lawlessness did not allay their excitement; they attacked in a body the house of a rich banker, who was reported to have done something prejudicial to the interest of the temple, burning his furniture and looting his property. A number of them proceeded to Raja Siva Pershad's house, determined to do serious mischief to him, but the presence of the armed police soon brought the excited mob to their senses and very little injury was done there. The noble Raja, I hear, had figured as a prime agent in the demolition question. If things had gone on smoothly he would have got a K.C.S.I., which must have been in store for him. We sincerely sympathise with the Raja at this sudden turning of the tables against him. *Fiat voluntas tua.* The Railway Station and the Government Telegraph Office were next mobbed, and considerable damage done to both. For four days business was at a standstill, and now after the storm came a lull. There was dead silence in the city during the whole night. Merciless persecutions, cruel retribution attended with severe beating, reigned in the city for four days. The police appeared on the scene in full power and pomp, and in restoring order and peace, committed acts of cruelty.

Some of the acts I will detail in a later communication.

I am, yours etc.,

Benares, April 24, 1891. JUSTITIA.

THE MADRAS FAMINE.

THE *Madras Mail* in a leading article draws a gloomy picture of the agricultural condition of the Presidency, and strongly urges the immediate formation of a central famine committee for the affected tracts, provided with funds and vested with full executive powers. The *Englishman* says: "There are grave reasons to fear that the distress in Madras, of which little has been heard during the past few weeks, is again becoming acute. Crops of a kind have been raised in spite of the drought in many districts, and the work of harvesting has alleviated for a brief season the symptoms of want which were apparent about two months ago. But the scanty harvest is now gathered in, work is practically suspended for the moment, and the outlook for the parish in the region most affected by the prevailing scarcity is undoubtedly discouraging in the extreme. In one district, it is said, the people are beating out and using for food the seeds of grasses that are never used in ordinary times, and ant-hills are being dug up for the sake of the little store of grain accumulated by the tiny workers. The labourers are, moreover, wandering in large numbers from place to place in the hope that the condition of neighbouring districts may be better than that of their own; and this migration necessarily tends in most cases to increase rather than diminish the evil. In many districts drunkenness is alarmingly on the increase, and one observer remarks that the distressed people not only spend in toddy for themselves the pice that should be carefully spent in nourishment, but that the stimulant is also given largely to children, upon whom it exercises for the time a soothing and satisfying influence. Pitiful stories of want are reported from districts within a few miles of Madras City; and although the situation has not yet approached in general that of absolute famine the instances of individual suffering are sadly numerous. The vigorous efforts of the Madras Government to relieve distress where it is most keenly felt are the one ray of light in a very gloomy outlook.

THE DISTRESS IN NORTH ARCOT

is increasing. Dr. Hackett Wilkins, district surgeon there, has found a large percentage of the children in some villages he inspected suffering from starvation in various stages. The class of people that appeared to suffer most were the pariahs and coolies. He advocates a grant of immediate relief in these villages. He also inspected 700 of the most distressed people collected at Wandiwash, whom he found to consist first of aged and feeble, depending on relatives for support; several of these were much emaciated from starvation. Secondly, the working classes, of whom the largest number were women deserted by their husbands and trying to support their children by labour, while others were infirm persons unfit to work. Among these were several cases of emaciation from starvation. Thirdly, really emaciated people, of whom the largest number were children varying from the early stages of starvation to extreme emaciation. Despite the distress people seem disinclined to leave their villages to go to the relief works that have been opened, preferring to starve or live on jungle leaves."

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND INDIA.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED BY THE "HANSARD" STAFF FOR "INDIA".]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 23.

THE CHIEF COMMISSIONERSHIP OF ASSAM.

Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE (Leeds, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India for the names of the gentlemen who have held the post of Chief Commissioner of Assam since January 1886, and for the dates of their appointment.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The names of the gentlemen who have held the post of Chief Commissioner for Assam since January, 1886, are Mr. Ward, who was appointed on the 27th of February, 1885; Mr. Fitzpatrick, 31st October, 1887; Mr. Westland, 16th of July, 1889; and Mr. Quinton, 22nd of October, 1889.

SALE OF OPIUM IN BURMA.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen L.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether any correspondence on the subject of the sale of opium in Burma and of granting licences for the sale thereof has passed between the India Office and the Government of India since the correspondence (closing with a telegram, dated 16th August, 1888) which was presented to Parliament in 1888.

And, whether, if such correspondence has passed, there will be any objection to presenting it to Parliament?

Sir J. GORST: No, sir; there has been no correspondence on the subject since the telegram of the 16th of August, 1888.

POPPY CULTIVATION IN BENGAL.

Mr. MACLEAN (Oldham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the India Office has any evidence to show that the recent reduction in the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is due to the intention of the Government of India to do away with the opium revenue little by little, and not to the commercial necessity for reducing production in order to keep up the price in face of the increasing competition of opium grown in China:

And, whether the policy of the Government of India with regard to this source of revenue is correctly expressed by Sir David Barbour, the Indian Finance Minister, who, in introducing his Budget for the year 1891-2, said, "The opium revenue has no doubt fallen largely, and at this moment there are no indications of a recovery. On the other hand, the fall up to date has been discounted, and provision made to meet the consequent loss of revenue. As the fall has been so great we may fairly hope that for the present we have seen the worst."

Sir J. GORST: The reason given by the Secretary of State for the reduction of the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is that the reserve stock of opium has become unduly large. The statements of Sir D. Barbour, no doubt, do correctly express the policy of the Government of India.

Sir G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): Will the right hon. gentleman say whether the cultivation of opium has been stopped altogether in certain districts where it was least profitable?

Sir J. GORST: I must ask the hon. gentleman to give me notice of that question.

MANIPUR.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he has now obtained any official reply as to the truth or falsehood of the rumours which have appeared in the press, that the Indian troops killed Manipuri women and children in the affair at Manipur, so that, in case the rumour be proved false, it may be categorically denied.

Sir J. GORST: In reply to the inquiry made by the Secretary of State the following telegram has been received from the Viceroy, which I will read to the House. It is dated April 21st, 1891: "'Foreign. Yours, yesterday, Regent asserts that several boys and women were killed at the time of the attack upon the Senapatis House. He does not say that they were related to him.' Maxwell, Deputy Commissioner, observes on this: 'The atrocities named are altogether false, as I have made careful inquiries.' Gurdon, Assistant Commissioner, reports: 'That women and children were killed etc. is absolutely false.' The officer commanding at Silchar telegraphed on the 10th: 'The officers state that no cruelty of any kind was practised by us, nor was it possible.' This refers to Boileau, and apparently to all other officers who retired with him to Silchar. Regent's statements will be further investigated on the spot."

THE COMMERCE OF THE COLONIES AND INDIA.

Mr. HOWARD VINCENT (Bradford, Central): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies if there is any commercial department in the Colonial Office, as in the Foreign Office, engaged in actively collating commercial information concerning all British Possessions and making it known to the mercantile community in the United Kingdom and throughout the Empire to the advantage of mutual trade:

And if he can state the total amount of the volume of trade in 1889 between the Mother Country and British Colonies and Dependencies (including India), and between the Colonies and Dependencies (including India) themselves?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): There is no such commercial department in the Colonial Office; the duty is undertaken by the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, which is furnished with all the materials for the purpose. The results are published annually by the Board of Trade, and are laid before Parliament in the "Colonial Statistical Abstract," which is on sale to the public. The Colonial Office also annually lays before Parliament separate reports from each Colony; and under arrangement with the Board of Trade that department publishes monthly in the *Board of Trade Journal* the latest commercial information from the Colonies which Colonial Governments have been specially invited to furnish. These documents are distributed to the Colonies, and are also on sale to the public. It appears from the "Statistical Abstract" that in 1889 the total value of imports, including bullion and specie, into India and the Colonies from the United Kingdom, as far as could be ascertained, was £122,092,060, and the total value of exports from India and the Colonies into the United Kingdom was £86,934,323. The volume of trade as between the Colonies and Dependencies could not be stated without lengthened research. As regards Indian trade the special statement presented to Parliament every fifth year gives the required information. The statement for 1889-90 will shortly be in the hands of hon. members.

BURNING OF VILLAGES AT MANIPUR.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if his attention has been called to a paragraph in the *Times*, of the 22nd, stating that villages had been burned at Manipur:

Whether this statement is correct; and, if so, how many villages have been burned:

Whether these villages have been burned as a punishment or from military contingencies; and, further, if as a punishment, whether as a punishment for simple resistance or for some specific act of treachery committed by the village burned:

And if the villages have been burned owing to military contingencies, would he state the nature of such contingencies, giving such data as would enable a comparison to be instituted with similar unavoidable accidents in European warfare?

Sir J. GORST: In consequence of the question of the hon. and gallant member, my noble friend the Secretary of State has carefully perused the *Times* of the 22nd inst., but he has been unable to find any confirmation of the report that villages have been burned at Manipur.

Colonel NOLAN: The words "at Manipur" in the question should be "in Manipur." It is a misprint.

Sir J. GORST: Neither at Manipur nor in Manipur have any villages been burned.

EQUIPMENT OF THE TROOPS IN THE MANIPUR EXPEDITION.

Mr. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he has yet received information as to the alleged statement that the troops employed in the Manipur expedition were at the time of the recent disaster without an adequate or suitable supply of reserve ammunition to fit their rifles:

And whether, if he has no knowledge as yet on the subject, he will telegraph to India for such information?

Sir J. GORST: I find from telegrams which have been received from the Government of India that this matter is now the subject of investigation in India, and I am afraid that I cannot give a satisfactory answer to my hon. friend until a full report of the result of the investigation has been received.

COMPENSATION FOR THE MANIPUR DISASTER.

Mr. KING (Hull, Central): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the exceptional nature of the circumstances attending the Manipur disaster, care will be taken in any arrangements to be made with the Government of Manipur to secure that adequate compensation shall be exacted for the widows and relations of those who were massacred.

The FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith, Strand): In answer to the question of my hon. friend I have to tell him that the Secretary of State for India considers it premature to state at present what terms will be exacted from the Manipurese.

EAST INDIA, INTOXICATING LIQUORS LICENCES (UPPER BURMA).

Ordered "Address for Return of Licences for the sale of Intoxicating Liquors issued in Upper Burma since the 1st day of January, 1888, showing the number of such licences issued, the times at which, the districts for which, and the periods for which they have been issued; the prices paid for them respectively; and the conditions or regulations subject to which they have been issued [in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, presented 3rd August, 1888, and entitled 'East India (Upper Burma, Licences)']" (*Mr. Bryce*).

EAST INDIA OPIUM LICENCES (UPPER BURMA).

Ordered "Address for Return of Licences for the sale of Opium issued in Upper Burma since the 1st day of January, 1888, showing the number of such licences issued; the times at which, the districts for which, and the periods for which they have been issued; the prices paid for them respectively; and the conditions or regulations subject to which they have been issued [in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, presented 3rd August, 1888, and entitled 'East India (Upper Burma, Licences)']" (*Mr. Bryce*).

APRIL 24.

BURNING OF VILLAGES AT MASTAON.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if his attention has been called to a paragraph in the *Times*, of the 22nd, stating that villages had been burned on or near the Mastaon Plateau:

Whether this statement is correct; and, if so, how many villages have been burned:

Whether these villages have been burned as a punishment or from military contingencies; and, further, if as a punishment, whether as a punishment for simple resistance or for some specific act of treachery committed by the village burned:

And, if the villages have been burned owing to military contingencies, would he state the nature of such contingencies, giving such data as would enable a comparison to be instituted with similar unavoidable accidents in European warfare?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The Mastaon Plateau is not in Manipur, but on the Afghan frontier. The Secretary of State has not received yet such detailed information respecting the military operations in that part of India as would enable him to reply to the various points in the hon. member's question.

Col. NOLAN: When will the Secretary of State be in possession of such information?

Sir J. GORST: I know that my noble friend the Secretary of State for India has the greatest confidence in the humanity and consideration of the Government of India, and that he will not press them with questions which would seem to imply a want of confidence. There is no doubt that full reports will come home in due course, by post, and when they are received they will be laid before Parliament. It will then be in the power of the hon. and gallant member, if he wishes to find fault with the Government of India, to do so.

Col. NOLAN: I wish for a plain answer to a plain question. When will the Secretary of State for India be in the possession of such information as will enable him to answer the question. Will it be a week hence or a month—or how long?

Sir J. GORST: It is obviously impossible for the Secretary of State to form any conjecture as to when the reports may be sent to him. I think that the hon. and gallant member ought to be much more able to form an estimate than I can.

Col. NOLAN: Is it not usual to write a despatch within a week after an engagement? Is that the custom in India?

Sir J. GORST: I am not able to answer a question as to the military customs of India without notice. I should say that the General commanding in the field would send in a report as soon as was possible for the convenience of the public service.

THE OPERATIONS AT MANIPUR.

Col. NOLAN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he would state who have given their instructions or orders to the officers commanding columns operating in Manipur:

And, if the conduct of all operations, civil or military in Manipur, is at present in the hands of the military authorities, or if civil officials exercise any authority in Manipur, or are furnished with any instructions giving them power in that district if the military operations should be successful?

Sir J. GORST: The answer to the first paragraph of the question is—the Commander-in-Chief in India. The answer to the question contained in the second paragraph is that all operations in Manipur are in the hands of the military authorities at present.

THE FACTORY LAWS IN INDIA.

Mr. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if he will give a return, in addition to the return already presented to the House, showing the operation of the factory law in India. What I want is a return that shall show what the alterations in the law have been?

Sir J. GORST: Such a return has been presented, I think, in the return which I have already given to the House. It shows, I believe, the changes which have been made in the law, as well as the existing law.

Mr. HOWELL: If the right hon. gentleman will look at the return I think he will find that it is only the changes in the law which are given, and not a comparison between them and the law as it stood previously.

Sir J. GORST: If the hon. member will put a question on the paper I shall be happy to give him all the information he may require on any point he can suggest.

THE REV. HANDLEY BIRD.

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY (Devon, Honiton): Deferred until Monday a question to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to a sentence passed upon the Rev. Handley Bird, a missionary, at Coimbatore, on 12th March, of six months' imprisonment, by the Brahmin District Munsiff, for alleged breach of an injunction, in respect of a convert, to convert one Appu Row, who was in his house, which sentence was confirmed and made binding by Mr. Irvine, the District Judge, who, as stated in the *Eastern Star* of 28th March, absolutely refused to listen to arguments of the defendant's counsel, but abused him, and called him a born idiot, and emphasised his opinions of the plaintiff, his counsel, and missionaries in general:

And, whether the facts are as stated in the *Eastern Star*; and, if so, whether he will take speedy measures for remission of the sentence?

EAST INDIA (SALARIES).

Ordered: Address for Return of the number of all persons who received from the Revenues of India, during the year 1889-90, Annual Allowances (whether in the form of salary, pay, fees, emoluments, or pensions), of which the amount was not less than 1,000 rupees for each person; distinguishing the number of persons and total amount received in each class; and showing whether they were Europeans, Eurasians, or Natives of India, and whether resident or not resident in India.—(Mr. Keay, Elgin and Nairn).

HOUSE OF LORDS.—April 24.

THE DISASTER AT MANIPUR.

The MARQUIS OF RIPON: My Lords, I rise for the purpose of putting a question to the noble viscount opposite, the Secretary of State for India, of which I have given him notice privately. I am anxious to learn whether he is in possession of any further information, or is in a position to lay before the House any papers he has received in reference to the recent weighty events in Manipur. In doing so I do not desire to express any opinion whatever in respect to that occurrence, but I hope your lordships will allow me to say how very deeply I regret the sad loss of life which took place on that occasion, and especially to express my sympathy at the great loss which the Government of India has sustained by the death of Mr. Quinton, the late Chief-Commissioner of Assam. I was well acquainted with Mr. Quinton, and had much to do with him in the transaction of business in India, and I always found him a man of great ability, sound judgment, and strongly marked character. I am quite confident that the Civil Service, of which he was so distinguished an ornament, has sustained a great loss by his untimely death. These matters connected with the Manipur incident may be the subject of discussion at a later period, but at the present moment I will only express an earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government, both in India and at home, in dealing with this question, will bear in mind that every step taken in regard to events in India is watched with the utmost care and, I may say, jealously by every native prince and chief in India. I trust that Her Majesty's Government in dealing with this question will be strictly guided by those principles of policy in regard to the Native States which conduced to the termination of the Mutiny, and which have given to India nearly forty years of internal peace and content, and done so much to increase the confidence and develope the loyalty of the Native princes of that country.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): My Lords, in reply to the question of the noble marquis I should first of all state how entirely I join with him in deploring the loss of so many valued officers in this disaster at Manipur. I should like also to join with him in what he has said as to the late Mr. Quinton, whose loss I deeply regret. He was a man who had been in the service of the Government of India for thirty-five years, and he had risen to his high position entirely by his own exertions. He had been a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and had won the confidence of no less than three successive Viceroys, the noble marquis opposite (Ripon), the Marquis of Dufferin, and the present Viceroy, the Marquis of Lansdowne. It was only last year in consequence of the high esteem in which he was held that he was appointed to the appointed to the somewhat difficult post of Chief-Commissioner of Assam. I deeply deplore his loss, and I desire to say that I quite join in what has been done by the Viceroy and his Council in India in publishing remarks in a special Gazette with reference to those officers who lost their lives. On behalf of my Council as well as on my own part I entirely endorse all that has been said by the noble marquis. My lords, I should like to express my deepest sympathy with the widow of Mr. Quinton and with the relatives of the other officers who lost their lives on that sad occasion. With regard to the question as to papers, which the noble marquis has put to me, I have only one despatch from the Viceroy of India, which brings matters down very nearly to the end of February. That despatch reached me on the 23rd March, exactly one day after this fatal disaster took place at Manipur. Of course, I shall have no objection whatever in course of time to lay that despatch upon the Table of your lordship's House, but I do not think it would be right to produce it until more information is gained as to the whole circumstances from later despatches, which I have no doubt I shall receive from the Viceroy of India, and which will be presented in order to completely furnish the information which I agree ought undoubtedly to be laid at once on the Table. I do not know that I have anything further to say in answer to the noble marquis; but I can assure him, if he wants assurance, that there is no person more likely to treat the Native States of India with justice, whatever may have been the provocation given, than the present Viceroy, the Marquess of Lansdowne. (Cheers.)

The matter then dropped.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—April 27.

ORANGE LODGES IN HER MAJESTY'S ARMY IN INDIA.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether, in view of the fact that the existence of Orange lodges in Her Majesty's Army is forbidden by the regulations of that force, he will inquire whether such a lodge exists in the 2nd Battalion of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, now or recently stationed at Quetta.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. Stanhope, Lincoln, Horncastle): There is no information on this subject at present at the War Office, but the Commander-in-Chief in India has been requested to make inquiries.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN: If I give the right hon. gentleman proper details and particulars in reference to the matter, in confidence of course, will he cause an inquiry to be made?

Mr. E. STANHOPE: Certainly, sir, I shall be very glad to cause inquiries to be made if the hon. gentleman will give me any details on the subject.

Mr. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Does the right hon. gentleman think that a Roman Catholic Nationalist is likely to know anything about an Orange lodge?

Mr. E. STANHOPE: I shall be glad to receive information upon the subject from whatever source it may come.

THE REV. HANDLEY BIRD, MISSIONARY AT COIMBATORE.

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY (Devon, Honiton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to a sentence passed upon the Rev. Handley Bird, a missionary, at Coimbatore, on 12th March, of six months' imprisonment, by the Brahmin District Munsiff, for alleged breach of an injunction, in respect of a convert, to convert one Appu Row, who was in his house, which sentence was confirmed and made binding by Mr. Irvine, the District Judge, who has stated in the *Eastern Star* of 28th March, absolutely refused to listen to arguments of the defendant's counsel but abused him, and called him a born idiot, and emphasised his opinions of the plaintiff, his counsel, and missionaries in general:

And, whether the facts are as stated in the *Eastern Star*; and, if so, whether he will take speedy measures for remission of the sentence?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): A report has been received from the Government of Madras. It appears that the guardians of a Brahmin boy obtained an injunction in the Munsiff's Court, forbidding Mr. Bird to remove the boy from the jurisdiction of the court pending the result of a trial as to his custody. The boy disappeared, and the Munsiff committed Mr. Bird to prison for contempt of court. The district judge, however,

while upholding the committal, released Mr. Bird on his undertaking to produce the boy; and the boy having been produced the order for committal was quashed. Mr. Bird was actually in jail for one night only.

Sir J. KENNAWAY: The right hon. gentleman has not answered that part of the question which relates to the language alleged to have been used by the district judge. Was such language used?

Sir J. GORST: No, sir, I am unable to give any information upon that point. The Government of Madras has not telegraphed the exact language used by the district judge.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Lord HENRY BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, why the War Office and Colonial Office combined have increased the yearly payments of the Straits Settlements from 236,600 dollars to 615,000 dollars:

Whether the increased garrison, promised to the Colony in return, is proportionate to the increased payment demanded:

Whether his attention has been drawn to the statement of Governor Sir Cecil Smith, K.C.M.G., in his despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 19th February 1890, "I found myself wholly unable to conscientiously support the justice of all the claims which Her Majesty's Government had made, and the same views which I held were shared in by every member of my Council. My instructions, however, were perfectly clear, and I had to require each member of the Executive Council to vote against his conviction in support of the claims of Her Majesty's Government";

And, whether the Government, when apportioning the just contribution the Colony should pay towards the mother country, will take into consideration the fact that it is an important Imperial coaling station, and of Imperial vitality to Great Britain?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): The recent decision to increase the military contribution payable by the Straits Settlements was not that of any particular department, but of Her Majesty's Government. It is not admitted that 236,600 dollars was the full sum formerly payable. The increase has been from £50,145 to £100,000. The force paid for by the Colony under the agreement of 1871 was one wing of an infantry regiment and one battery of artillery, or about 561 of all ranks; while the force on which its present contribution is calculated is about 1,500 of all ranks, exclusive, in each case, of staff and departments. The increase of the force charged for has therefore, in the view of Her Majesty's Government, been about 167 per cent., while the increase in the contribution is only about 100 per cent. I have, of course, seen the despatch referred to by my noble friend. The amount of military contribution to be paid by the Straits Settlements has been already decided by Her Majesty's Government, and he will find the material facts and arguments on the subject set forth in the papers recently presented to Parliament—C. 6290.

APRIL 29.

THE CONCESSION FOR A RAILWAY TO ASSAM.

Mr. MACLEAN (Oldham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India what steps are being taken to construct the railway from Chittagong along the north-eastern frontier of India to Assam, which would facilitate the transport of troops and stores to Manipur:

When it is probable that the works of this railway will be commenced;

And how long it will take to complete them?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.E.): In the absence of my right hon. friend I will answer the question. A concession has been granted to the promoters of a company for making the line in question; but its commencement and time of completion depend upon the ability of the company to raise the capital. Their concession lasts till November next.

Sir G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): Has any guarantee been given?

Sir J. FERGUSSON: I am not sufficiently aware of the facts to be able to answer the question.

APRIL 30.

THE INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if it is the case that it has been decided to alter the mode of appointment of officers to the Indian Staff Corps; and, if so, what is to be the new system:

Whether such officers are to be taken from the British Army or appointed direct;

And whether they are to be educated at any military college?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The answer to the first question of the hon. member is yes, in accordance with the army order of the 9th of March, 1891. The answer to the second question is that they will be appointed direct from Sandhurst to the unattached list of the British Army. The answer to the third question is yes.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: Do I understand the right hon. gentleman to mean by "unattached" that they will not be attached to any regiment?

Sir J. GORST: I am not a military man, but I believe that is so.

THE INDIAN FACTORY ACT.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if he will now produce the further correspondence regarding the new Indian Factory Act?

Sir J. GORST: The papers will be presented if the hon. member will move for them.

CONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN RAILWAYS.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if the Secretary of State has lately entertained or is now entertaining any projects for construction of railways by companies with a Government guarantee?

Sir J. GORST: Yes, sir.

MAY 1.

EAST INDIA (FINANCIAL STATEMENT).

On the motion of Mr. HOWORTH (Salford, S.) an address was ordered for a copy of the East Indian Financial Statement for 1891-92.

EAST INDIA (FACTORY ACT).

On the motion of Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy) an address was ordered for a return of further correspondence relating to the amendment of the Indian Factory Act of 1881 by Indian Factory Act xi of 1891, (in continuation of Parliamentary paper No. 120 of Session 1891).

MANIPUR.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to letters which appeared in the *Times* on the 29th inst. from Mrs. Grimwood and Lieutenant Albert Wood, concerning the way in which the massacre at Manipur commenced:

If he can inform the House whether the statement in regard to the attempt to capture the Jubraj is true:

And, whether the agent was authorised; and, if so, by whom, to capture the Jubraj, and the reasons which prompted such attempt?

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): May I be allowed to put to the right hon. gentleman a question on the same subject for which I have given notice for Monday next, namely, whether he will lay on the Table a copy of the instructions which were given for the expedition to Manipur?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The information in the possession of the Secretary of State does not lead him to believe that the Government of India have contemplated that the Senaputty was invited to a Durbar with the intention of his being arrested. My noble friend informs me that he should be much surprised if that were so. The papers on the subject will be presented to Parliament as soon as the information is more complete than it is at the present time.

Mr. CREMER: Will the right hon. gentleman be kind enough to inform the House whether it is true that an attempt was made to capture the Jubraj, and, if so, on whose authority the attempt was made? Had the political agent received any instructions from the Indian Government, or was he acting entirely on his own responsibility?

Sir J. GORST: I am sorry that I am not able to answer the questions, nor has the Secretary of State received information that will enable him to answer it. Unfortunately, all the officers who were engaged in the expedition have unhappily been killed, and probably all official records have been destroyed. Certainly at the present moment there is no information in the possession of my noble friend, the Secretary of State, that would enable him to reply to the question, I may mention that despatches are on their way, and we expect to receive them on Monday next. Immediately on the receipt of the despatches papers will be laid upon the Table of the House, and probably they will give all the information the hon. member desires to have.

Mr. CREMER: I beg to give notice that I will repeat the question on Monday.

QUARANTINE AGAINST CALCUTTA.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to the following statement in the public press: that "at the sitting of the Committee of Public Health at Paris on 21st April it was declared that cholera is increasing in Calcutta, the fact being shown by the arrival at Suez of a great number of ships liable to quarantine measures. Comformably, however, to the wishes of the English, who are in the majority upon the sanitary council, these vessels pass without sanitary measures being taken. One English ship from Calcutta was mentioned as having had eleven cases of cholera on board, ten of which had terminated fatally before she reached Colombo. On her arrival at Suez she only remained in the roadstead during the time necessary to make repairs;"

And, whether, if these matters are as stated, he will take steps to enforce a strict quarantine at Suez?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.E.): Any such statement would be inconsistent with fact, for by the last accounts the deaths from cholera at Calcutta were far below the quinquennial average. The case mentioned is evidently that of a ship which had eleven cases of cholera on board between Calcutta and Colombo. She then underwent nine days' quarantine and was thoroughly disinfected. No further sickness occurred on board, and accordingly when she reached Suez after a voyage of fourteen days she was allowed to pass through the Canal in quarantine.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—MAY 1.

THE MANIPUR DISASTER.

The MARQUIS OF RIPON: My Lords.—Seeing the noble Viscount, the Secretary of State for India, in his place, I am anxious to ask him a question of which he has received private notice. I am desirous of knowing whether he can inform the House if there is any foundation for the statement which has appeared in some of the newspapers that it was intended to summon the Maharaja of Manipur and other native Princes to a Durbar at Manipur, and then at that Durbar or immediately afterwards to arrest them; and whether if that statement is correct, as I hope and believe it cannot be, that proceeding had the authority of the Government of India. I need not point out the extreme importance of the question, and I will only express my own feeling and opinion in the matter: it seems to me incredible from my experience of Mr. Quinton, and knowledge of his character that he could possibly have had any part in a proceeding

which would have been, it is needless to say, unworthy and dishonourable in every respect.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): In answer to the question of the noble marquis, I have only to state that my information does not lead me to believe that the Government of India ever contemplated that the Senaputty would be summoned to a Durbar for the purpose of being there arrested, and if that was done I shall be very much surprised. As to what were the actual facts it is impossible for me at this moment to make any statement, because the Viceroy has not yet had the opportunity of obtaining all the information necessary, and which in due time he will no doubt obtain. In the meantime I do not think it would be right to lay papers on the Table in an incomplete state, but I am expecting further despatches, and as soon as the papers are complete they will be presented to Parliament.

The matter then dropped.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—May 3.

THE MANIPUR EXPEDITION.

Mr. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he will lay upon the Table the instructions given to Mr. Quinton for the expedition to Manipur.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): Yes, sir. The despatches, when printed, will be laid upon the Table.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the papers relating to the Manipur Expedition, which he has promised to present to the House, will include, not only such instructions as may have been given to Mr. Quinton by the Government of India, but all communications which have passed between the India Office here and the Government of India upon this subject.

Sir J. GORST: Yes, sir; the communications between the Secretary of State and the Government of India will be included in the papers presented to the House.

Mr. BRYCE: Can the right hon. gentleman say how soon he thinks the despatches will be laid upon the Table?

Sir J. GORST: I said last week that the Secretary of State is waiting for the despatches, and they are now on their way from India. When I left the India Office to-day they had not arrived. They ought to arrive to-day.

GUARANTEED RAILWAYS IN INDIA.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India what are the railways for which the Secretary of State has given or offered a guarantee, and what is the amount and duration of the guarantee in each of such cases:

And, whether, in cases in which a concession has been given, any deposit or security has been exacted to bind the applicants, or whether in any cases concessions have been given which leave the concessionaries free to take them up if they find they can raise the money so as to make a profit for themselves, or to throw them up if they cannot.

Sir J. GORST: A proposed company for making a railway from Chittagong to Assam is the only one to which such a guarantee has been offered. The Secretary of State does not think it would be fair to the promoters of that company to promulgate the terms of the guarantee in reply to the question of the hon. member.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: The right hon. gentleman has not answered the last paragraph of my question as to the security which it is proposed to exact.

Sir J. GORST: That would be promulgating the terms of the guarantee which my noble friend the Secretary of State is unwilling to do.

May 5.

RUPEE RATE OF EXCHANGE.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India why the rate of exchange for the rupee was paid on the 1st April for the ensuing five months in respect to payments to those belonging to the Home Establishment in India at 1s. 6¼d. when the market value was not more than 1s. 5¾d.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): In reply to the question of the hon. member I have to say that the Secretary of State, notwithstanding the assistance of his financial advisers, has been unable to understand the meaning of the hon. member's question. But perhaps it may possibly be sufficiently answered by reminding the hon. member that a rate is fixed for all transactions for the ensuing year irrespective of the fluctuations of the market. The fixed rate for 1891-2 is 1s. 6¼d.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I think the right hon. gentleman has scarcely done justice to the noble Lord the Secretary of State who must have perfectly well understood my question.

THE MANIPUR DISASTER.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if he can now state whether an attempt was made, or intended to be made by the Chief Commissioner, to capture the Jubraj at Manipur in case he attended the Durbar to which he had been invited; and whether such attempt was the cause of the massacre which followed;

Whether the Chief Commissioner ordered the attempt on his own authority, or if he received his authority from the Indian Government;

Whether any record has been kept of the exact orders which the Chief Commissioner received;

And, when the Government will lay before Parliament a complete copy of such orders.

Sir J. GORST: I have been directed by my noble friend the Secretary of State to answer the question as follows:—"The best answer I can give to the question is to say that I have just laid on the Table all the despatches relating to Manipur and they will be printed and circulated as speedily as possible." The Secretary of State has been waiting for a further despatch which arrived this afternoon.

Mr. CREMER: Do I understand the right hon. gentleman to state to the House that he is not in a position to express any opinion upon or to give any answer to the question which I have put upon the paper?

Sir J. GORST: I have only to answer questions which may be put in this House as I am directed by the Secretary of State, and I have given the reply to the question of the hon. member which I was directed by my noble friend to give.

Mr. CREMER: Then I will repeat the question to-morrow and every day until I get a distinct answer.

May 7.

THE MANIPUR DISASTER.

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLEN (Durham, S.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, with reference to the recent reports on the Manipur disaster, whether he can inform the House how it came to happen that a very small military expedition, consisting of less than 500 native soldiers, was sent on an enterprise having for its object the dethronement of the ruler of the neighbouring State without apparently any proper military supervision or any responsible estimate being formed as to the resistance to be expected and the hostile force to be encountered, the adequacy or otherwise of the very small military force sent, and the provision of a proper reserve of ammunition for the two different descriptions of rifles employed:

Whether the district and station from which this military force started is under the immediate military supervision of any superior military officer; and, if so, by whom;

And, what steps the Government of India propose to take for insuring proper military control in military matters, so as, if possible, to avert similar disaster to our arms in future?

Sir J. GORST: Full reports on the subject have not yet been received. In reply to the second paragraph of the question, I have to say that the station is in the Assam district and under the command of Brigadier-General Collett. As to the third paragraph the Secretary of State has not heard of any special steps being taken by the Government of India.

Mr. BRYCE: Will the right hon. gentleman take this opportunity of saying how soon the papers, which have reached the Government, will be presented to the House?

Sir J. GORST: The papers were presented to the House two days ago.

THE OUT-STILL SYSTEM.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been directed to a statement made in the *Bengalee* of 4th April, 1891, alleging that the Government of Bengal had directed the re-introduction of out-stills in parts of Midnapore and Bancoorah, and whether it was in consequence of a fall in the excess revenue arising from the substitution of distillery spirit shops in place of out-stills in those districts that this measure had been adopted.

Sir JOHN GORST: The Government have seen the statement as to the re-introduction of the out-still system in Midnapore and Bancoorah. No such measure could have been adopted for the reasons suggested by the hon. member.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS, May 11.

THE MANIPUR DISASTER.

The MARQUIS OF RIPON: My Lord, seeing the noble Viscount, the Secretary of State for India in his place, I am anxious to put a question to him in regard to the recent occurrences at Manipur. I find a statement in the *St. James's Gazette* this evening which is headed "Blood Money offered," and which in some of the placards, which have appeared in the streets is referred to as "A disgraceful proclamation," the statements being that, "the Chief Commissioner," meaning of course the Chief Commissioner of Assam, "has issued a proclamation putting heavy sums on the heads of the Regent, the Senaputty, and those of the councillors and generals who were concerned in the outbreak." It is, I think, very desirable that that sort of statement should not go forth to the public as being correct, and I should be glad if the noble Viscount will state whether he has any information upon the subject?

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): I have no information on the subject, and have not even seen the paragraph mentioned by the noble Marquis. I am not aware whether a proclamation has been issued offering certain sums for taking these people alive, but I am quite sure the Viceroy would never have countenanced for a single moment such a proclamation as has been hinted at in the statement quoted by the noble Marquis. As this question has been asked on the matter I should like to state that full papers on the subject of the Manipur occurrences will be laid on the Table as soon as they are printed. They would have been produced already, and I hope they will be ready to-morrow, but a long despatch has just come in by this mail which ought I think to be added to them which has caused a delay of twenty-four hours. That is the only reason why they have not been already produced to the House.

May 12.

THE MANIPUR DISASTER.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): My Lords, with reference to the answer which I gave to my noble friend the Marquis of Ripon yesterday, I, of course, at once telegraphed that answer to the Viceroy, and I have just this moment received the following telegram from him: "There is no foundation for the report that a reward has been offered by us for the rebels dead or alive."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 14.

THE MANIPUR DISASTER.

Mr. GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to a statement in the Press, copied from the *Allahabad Pioneer* of the 17th April, "that, in view of the probable flight to Burma of the Manipuri nobles responsible for the recent outrages, the Chief Commissioner has issued a proclamation offering heavy sums for the heads of 'the Regent', 'the Senaputty', and those of the councillors and generals who were concerned in the outbreak;"

Whether this proclamation was issued with the knowledge of the Indian Government and Secretary of State for India; if not, what measures have been adopted for its withdrawal;

And, will he state the nature of the court under which the leaders of the rebellion captured are to be tried?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. De Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): On behalf of my right hon. friend I have to say that the Secretary of State has received no official information on the subject; but he has seen in the newspapers a copy of the proclamation of the Chief Commissioner of Burma, the material part of which is as follows: "This is to give notice that any such persons"—that is the Regent of Manipur and those of his councillors, generals and followers concerned in the murder of Mr. Quinton and his companions—"taking refuge in Burma, are to be seized and delivered up to the nearest magistrate and police officer, and that rewards will be granted as stated below for the capture of the persons named." The rewards vary from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 5,000. The reply to the second paragraph of the question is that the Secretary of State sees nothing in such a proclamation to require his interference. In answer to the third paragraph I have to say that the nature of the court will be found described in the Blue Book, which will be certainly distributed before the House rises for the holidays. The leaders of the rebellion are to be tried by a court consisting of three officers, including at least one political officer, their sentences to be subject to the confirmation of the Government of India.

CIVIL ENGINEERING OF THE INDIAN PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

Mr. TALBOT (University of Oxford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India what has been done by the Indian Government to carry into effect the 26th paragraph of the despatch of Lord Kimberley, No. 18, of the 22nd March, 1883, with regard to the grievances of the Civil Engineers of the Indian Public Works Department in relation to their occupation of the higher posts in that department;

Whether, in point of fact, the Civil Engineers have for a long period of years composed about four-fifths of the entire strength of the department, the Military Engineers constituting the other fifth;

Whether the latter have the monopoly of all the higher administrative posts;

Whether this has been recognised by more than one Secretary of State as an injustice to the Civil Engineers;

And whether it is not possible to give more practical effect to the policy laid down in the above-mentioned despatch by the appointment of competent Civil Engineers to fill the highest departmental administrative posts, either alternately with military officers or in any other way?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. De Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): In the absence of my right hon. friend the Under Secretary for India, I have been requested to answer the question. The reply to the first paragraph is that the Secretary of State is confident, in the words of the despatch referred to, "that the choice of the Government of India of fit persons for the higher posts in the Public Works Department has been made with perfect impartiality." The answer to the second question is in the affirmative. The reply to questions 3 and 4 is No; but for some time after the introduction of Civil Engineers into the Department the Royal Engineers, who formerly constituted the whole staff, were the seniors, and were the first to become eligible for promotion to the higher appointments. Now, however, the Civil Engineers are reaching the higher grades, and are being promoted on their merits in the same way as the Royal Engineers. The answer to the last question of the hon. member is that the Secretary of State is of opinion that the responsibility of selecting officers for promotion to the highest appointments must rest with the Government of India, under whom these officers work. He, therefore, cannot adopt the hon. member's suggestion.

HOUSE TAX IN UPPER BURMA.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the note of the Chief Commissioner of Burma, in which Sir Alexander Mackenzie proposes to substitute for the house tax on agriculturists in Upper Burma a land revenue assessment based on that prevailing in India, and offering, as regards all so-called private lands, to give security and permanency of tenure without waiting for a regular survey and resettlement; also, a copy of the proceedings and recommendations of the Select Committee of 1871, dealing with certain proposals for the establishment of a permanent tenure in India; and a copy of the final order of 1883, abandoning the proposed extension of the permanent settlement.

BARON H. DE WORMS (for Sir J. Gorst): The reply to the first question of the hon. member is, that the note of the Chief Commissioner at Burma has not yet been received by the Secretary of State. When it arrives he will consider whether it can be presented. The proceedings and report of the Committee of 1871 are to be found in the Parliamentary return 363 of that year. In answer to the third question of the hon. member, I have to say that the despatch of 1883 will be presented as an unopposed return if the hon. member will move for it.

THE MANIPUR DISASTER.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I wished to put a question to the Under Secretary for India, but as the right hon. gentleman is prevented by illness from being in his place, perhaps some other member of the Government will reply to me. My question is whether the Government are in a position to give the House any information in regard to the Manipur disaster, and further, why the despatches which the Under Secretary stated had been laid upon the table on the 5th inst. have not been delivered to hon. members. Is it usual for more than ten days to be occupied in the printing of such papers?

Baron H. DE WORMS: The Manipur papers have been presented and are now in the hands of the printers.

Mr. CREMER: That is not the answer I had hoped to obtain from the front bench opposite. I wanted to know why the delay has taken place in the delivery of these papers, and when the despatches are likely to be in the hands of members. Is it usual to take more than ten days for the presentation of documents of a similar character?

Baron H. DE WORMS: I cannot answer a question of that character. It depends entirely upon the printers.

Mr. CREMER: I am sorry to be compelled to rise again, but my question has not yet been answered. I do not know whether I am in order, but I cannot help saying that, in my opinion, it is scarcely creditable to the Government to have a delay of this kind.

The SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. member is exceeding the bounds of a question.

Mr. CREMER: It is now ten days since I asked a question of a similar character, and I then succeeded in obtaining no information whatever. (Cries of "Order.") I do not think it is fair that I should be put off with a statement that the despatches have been laid upon the table. I am endeavouring to ascertain why ten days should have been allowed to elapse without the papers being delivered to hon. members.

Baron H. DE WORMS: There has been no unnecessary delay so far as her Majesty's Government are concerned. As soon as the despatches were received, they were laid upon the table, and as soon as they are printed they will be delivered.

Mr. CREMER: What I want to know is when they will be delivered.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I wish also to put a question in regard to these papers. It was the intention of certain members of this House to have raised a discussion in regard to the Manipur affairs upon the motion for adjournment for the holidays, but we are prevented from doing so, partly because the motion for adjournment will be made at the end of the business to-morrow and partly because the papers have not been delivered, although they were laid on the table on the 5th inst.. Perhaps under the circumstances I may be allowed to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the absence of the First Lord of the Treasury, whether we are to understand that when the papers are delivered the Government will afford an opportunity of discussing the affairs of Manipur.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square): It would be somewhat difficult I think in the unfortunate absence of my right hon. friend the Under Secretary for India to discuss these matters satisfactorily. I think that hon. members will agree with me that it would not be right to insist upon a discussion when the minister who is mainly responsible in this House is prevented by illness from being present in his place. I may say that Her Majesty's Government fully recognised the importance of the question, and they have no desire to withdraw it from the full notice of the House. In the absence of my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury, who is also prevented illness from being in his place, I should not like to give a pledge as to when the discussion can be taken.

Sir G. TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton): In the contingency which it is unfortunately necessary to contemplate of the Land Purchase Bill not being finished to-morrow, when do the Government propose to continue the consideration of that Bill; secondly, I would ask at what time the adjournment of the House will be moved to-morrow, I think we have a right to ask this if we are called upon to waive the usual right of having the adjournment moved at the commencement of business to-morrow.

Mr. CREMER: Before the right hon. gentleman answers that question I wish to ask him whether he will direct an inquiry to be made at the printing office as to the delay which has taken place in the delivery of the Manipur despatches. Will the right hon. gentleman be in a position to answer that question to-morrow?

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): Will the putting down of the Land Purchase Bill to-morrow at three o'clock, depend on the hour at which the House is adjourned to-night?

Mr. GOSCHEN: No, it will not depend upon that. I wish the House to look upon the matter in the light that it is desirable to make the greatest progress with that Bill. Even if we do not finish it I hope that we shall be able to make a great impression upon it. Under these circumstances I cannot give any pledge as to any particular hour for moving the adjournment. We propose, if the Purchase Bill should not be finished, to put it down for Thursday next, and if hon. members should find that we do not get within reasonable reach of the termination of the Bill I hope they will not wish to suspend business at any particular hour.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I think I ought to remind the right hon. gentleman that a week ago he told us that there would be a morning sitting at which the first business would be the motion for adjournment. This is the first intimation we have had of any alteration, and hon. members have made their arrangements to leave London on the faith of the original understanding. I think, therefore, that we have a right to press the Government for an assurance that the adjournment will take place to-morrow at the hour originally fixed.

Mr. CREMER: Before the Chancellor of the Exchequer answers the question of the right hon. member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. Fowler), I wish to remind him that he has not answered my question in reference to the non-delivery of the Manipur despatches. I at once acquit the right hon. gentleman of any intentional act of discourtesy, but I think that the question I put was a very proper one,

namely, whether he will make inquiry between this and to-morrow as to the reason why the papers have not been delivered. The right hon. gentleman resumed his seat without taking any notice of my question.

Mr. GOSCHEN: I can assure the hon. member that there was no intentional discourtesy on my part; but several questions were put to me, and I regret that I should have omitted to reply to that of the hon. member. I will cause inquiry to be made, but I must remind the House that it frequently happens that the printers are unfortunately not so prompt as we could wish. But Her Majesty's Government have absolutely no power in the matter, and are often put to great inconvenience in consequence. I can assure the hon. member that as far as we are concerned, there will be no delay in producing the papers.

Sir G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): Upon this subject I should like, Mr. Speaker, to address a question to you. Who is the authority who has control over the printers, and to whom should an application be made if the printers fail to do their duty?

Mr. SPEAKER: The best quarter to apply to would be the office concerned, and in this case it would be the India Office.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: But we are constantly informed by the Office concerned that it has no control over the printers.

Mr. SPEAKER: Of course the ultimate authority would rest with this House.

RELATIONS BETWEEN MANIPUR AND THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

Mr. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if he will lay upon the table papers showing the precise political relation between Manipur and the Government of India, as fixed either by treaty or general regulations affecting the protected native states, or otherwise.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): In reply to the question of the hon. member I have to say that if he will move for the papers they shall be laid upon the table.

PRIVILEGES OF BRITISH SOLDIERS IN INDIA.

Mr. PICTON (Leicester): I beg to ask the Postmaster General if he is aware that the limitation of the postal privileges of British soldiers in India to letters prevents their regular receipt of newspapers from home with the news of their native districts;

And, whether there is any insuperable difficulty in the way of making the postage of a newspaper to a soldier in India at least as cheap as that of a letter?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes, University of Cambridge): I believe it is the fact that the postal privileges to British soldiers in India are limited to letters and do not extend to newspapers. I am afraid that it is not possible to meet the suggestion of the hon. member without a parliamentary enactment.

THE RECENT OCCURRENCES IN MANIPUR.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Government will undertake that no one shall be put to death in Manipur as a punishment, or in retaliation for the deaths of Mr. Quinton and his companions, until the circumstances of the attack upon the Manipuris has been considered by Parliament.

Sir J. GORST: No one will be put to death in Manipur in mere retaliation for the deaths of Mr. Quinton and his companions. The Secretary of State is surprised that such a question should be asked. But those who are found guilty of the murder of Mr. Quinton and Mr. Melville and their respective companions will be adequately punished without waiting until the circumstances of the affair at Manipur have been considered by Parliament.

Sir W. HARCOURT (Derby): I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the absence of the First Lord of the Treasury, when further papers will be presented in relation to the affairs of Manipur. The House will be aware that at present we have had no expression whatever of the views of Her Majesty's Government or of the Secretary of State for India officially as to what has taken place, I therefore ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer when further papers in addition to those which have already been presented, will be laid on the table.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square): I am not in a position at present to say when the Government will be able to place further papers upon the table in regard to recent events in Manipur; but no doubt the House is entitled to the fullest information it is possible to give on the subject. That information will be given as soon as it is received. Perhaps the right hon. gentleman may think it convenient to move for the papers with regard to these events. Of course if a member in the position of the right hon. gentleman expresses a wish to have this matter discussed it will be the duty of the Government to find an opportunity for the discussion.

Sir W. HARCOURT: I think that the course suggested by the right hon. gentleman will be a convenient one, and in order that the House may be in possession of the state of things and the views of the Government, I will move for further papers on the subject and will call attention generally to what has taken place at Manipur. That will afford an opportunity for discussion of the matter and when the further papers are received, it will be for members to consider whether any, and if so, what further steps shall be taken. I should hope that the right hon. gentleman will to-day, or upon some early day, mention some date on which the discussion may be taken.

Mr. J. LOWTHER (Kent, Isle of Thanet): In regard to the vote on account which is to be taken to-night, may I ask the right hon. gentleman how many months it will cover.

Mr. GOSCHEN: The amount asked for in the vote on account will, in accordance to precedent, cover two months. With regard to the discussion of the affairs of Manipur, I am not able at this moment to give any definite answer to the question of the right hon. member for Derby (Sir. W. Harcourt). If the right hon. gentleman will repeat the question a day or two hence, I shall, I trust, be in a position to give him an answer. A good deal will depend upon the course which is taken in regard to the Newfoundland Bill. That must be proceeded with first. If the necessity for proceeding with that bill is removed, the Government will be able to see their way to some arrangement for the discussion of the affairs of Manipur.

Sir W. HARCOURT: In reference to the Newfoundland Bill, I would suggest to the right hon. gentleman that we ought to be placed at once in possession of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government definitely. A good deal will depend upon the nesessity of proceeding with that Bill or not. But in regard to the affairs of Manipur, a matter of such great importance cannot be left in doubt as to when it is to come on. We ought to know at once the absolute day on which it will be brought on. The question is one of immense importance, and ample notice should be given to hon. members so that there may be a full attendance.

Mr. GOSCHEN: Without absolutely pledging myself, I think I may say that the Newfoundland Bill will come on on Thursday the 28th or not at all. Unless before Thursday a definite arrangement satisfactory to all parties concerned is come to, the Government will feel it their duty to proceed with the Bill. There has never been any doubt upon that point. We have always said that Thursday the 28th would be the day for proceeding with that Bill unless a satisfactory arrangement were come to. But that eventually does not rest with her Majesty's Government; therefore it is not possible to say what day may be set apart for the discussion of the affairs of Manipur.

EAST INDIA (MANIPUR).

On the motion of Mr. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.,) an Address was ordered for Copies of Translation of the Conditions entered into by Rajah Gumbheer Singh, of Manipur, dated the 18th day of April, 1833:

And, of Correspondence between the Government of India and the Court of Directors in 1852 as to the relations between Manipur and the Government of India.

THE RUBY MINES COMPANY.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to the statement contained in a Rangoon telegram published in yesterday's *Times*, to the effect that "the application by the Ruby Mines Company for a remission of the rent of the mines is now under the consideration of the Government of India:"

Whether any change in the position of the mines has occurred since his statement on the 21st of July last, that "the Secretary of State was not aware of any ground on which the rent of the Ruby Mines could justly be remitted:"

And, whether he will undertake that no remission of this portion of the Indian Revenue shall be made without previous intimation to this House?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): In reply to the first paragraph of the question of the hon. member I have to say that the attention of the Secretary of State has been called to the statement contained in a Rangoon telegram, which appeared in yesterday's *Times*, to the effect that an application by the Ruby Mines Company for a remission of the rent of the mines is now under the consideration of the Government of India. In answer to the second paragraph I have to say that no change in the position of the mines has occurred since the statement of the Secretary of State on the 21st July last, that he was not aware of any ground on which the rent of the Ruby Mines could justly be remitted. The Secretary of State, in reply to the third paragraph, is prepared to say that no remission of this portion of the Indian Revenue will be made without previous intimation.

THE OPIUM TRADE IN BRITISH INDIA.

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kircudbrightshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the memorial presented to the Secretary of State for India by a deputation from the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, on the 30th July 1890, with regard to the retail sale of opium and other drugs in British India has been forwarded to the Government of India:

And, whether any reply from the Government of India has yet been received; and, if not, whether he will inquire how soon such reply may be expected.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): Yes, sir, the memorial was sent by the Secretary of State to India last August. No reply has been received, but the Secretary of State will remind the Government of India of that fact.

THE AFFAIRS OF MANIPUR.

Sir W. HARCOURT (Derby); I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whom we are glad to see among us again, whether he can appoint a day for the discussion of the recent occurrences at Manipur. There is very great reason why that discussion should not be delayed and I think the House is fairly anxious to know what the views of Her Majesty's Government are on the subject. I therefore hope that the right hon. gentleman may be able to promise an early day.

The FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith, Strand): In regard to the discussion which the right hon. gentleman is desirous of raising in reference to the occurrences at Manipur, I must ask him to be so good as to postpone his question until Monday, when I hope to be able to state more accurately than it is possible for me to state now what the course of public business for next week will be, I regret that there should be any necessity for a discussion upon this question, and after the request which has been made by the right hon. gentleman, I will take care that the opportunity is not unduly delayed.

A LECTURE was delivered at the North St. Pancras Working Men's Club and Institute, on the evening of the 26th ult., by Captain Pfoundes, on the subject of "India, her People's Rights and Wrongs, and Englishmen's Duty." The responsibilities of the electorate of this country were clearly defined, and the duty of England to Eastern people (especially those under British rule) was strongly insisted upon as a question that should be vital at the coming elections. The lecture was very well received. Captain Pfoundes has also addressed a number of other clubs on Indian affairs.

HINDOO AND ENGLISH FAMILY LIFE.

ESTIMATES THEREON BY TWO FOREIGNERS—THE EDITOR OF THE "BANGANAVISI" AND SIR G. BIRDWOOD.

In a most interesting letter addressed to the *Times* by Sir George Birdwood, is to be found a view of Hindoo Family Life from his pen and a similar view of English life from the pen of the Editor of the *Banganavisi*. We hope and believe Sir George is correct in his estimate; we know the Hindoo journalist is hopelessly, and even cruelly, wrong. G. W. M. Reynolds and Max O'Rell are poor guides for an Indian student of British comtemporary life. We quote as follows:—

This leads me to the agitation against the practice of "child-marriage," recently undertaken by Mr. B. M. Malabari. The marriage of a child is utterly abhorrent to the moral sense of every man; and Mr. Malabari has my sympathy in his efforts to expurge this cruelty from Hindooism. But, above any other subject affecting the Hindoos, this is the one they should be scrupulously left to deal with themselves. Parsees and Muhammadans, and, perhaps, even Englishmen, may discuss it in the newspaper Press, and in pamphlets and books, but the organising of committees to concuss Government on the question should be left to the Hindoos themselves. It is an abominable stain on their civilization, although, in truth, rather nominal than real; while, on the other hand, the marriage laws of the Hindoos have served to create the highest type of family life known. For its simplicity, affection, reverence, and purity, it is absolutely unapproachable by any other nation. This, however is not my point, which is the great risks run in intermeddling from without with the inner life of the Hindoos. The Act of the Indian Legislature authorising the marriage of Hindoo widows was one of the chief causes of the tacit acquiescence of the Hindoos, in many parts of India, in the Mutiny of 1857. Every one who was in India at the time must be perfectly well aware of this, although the fact may nowhere be on official record. That their sensitiveness on such matters has in no degree diminished in the last forty years, is shown by the reception given in India to Mr. Ashburner's article on the Hindoo marriage laws, in a late number of the *National Review*. In reply to him, the *Banganavisi* writes:—

"Mr. Ashburner, in order to falsely slander Hindoo wives and widows, has set steadfastly fefore him the picture of English wives and widows; and it is a faithful description of the English women we have from his pen. Among them, truly, 'there is no wife, no widow, nor chaste woman.' English society has granted full liberty to its females, whether wives or widows, to indulge in libertinism. . . . . In England there is no distinction between a chaste woman and a public woman. In England *there are no prostitutes as a separate class*, because there are prostitutes in every house. . . . . The English writer, Reynolds, and the French writer, Max O'Rell, have revealed these secrets. . . . . It is only by making Hindoo society your model that you English people may, after ages, raise yourselves from the Hell into which you have sunk. . . . . The picture of your vice is being constantly witnessed in your law courts, in your everyday life, in your literature, and in your history. Our young men of good character who happen to go unguarded to your country fall into the snares of your sirens there, and return home utterly demoralized, degraded, and depraved. . . . . In your country a woman having even one hundred lovers is accounted chaste; but in our country the chaste woman is worshipped as a goddess, and worships her husband as a god; and when he dies she either ascends the funeral pyre or practises a life-long *brahmacharya* [life of continence, literally, 'Brahmanical practice'—*i.e.*, asceticism], in expectation of meeting her beloved one in the next world. In this world none but a Hindoo has so strong a right to call himself the son of his father; and the Hindoo female would rather cast herself a thousand times into the blazing fire than accept your accursed counsel—*i.e.*, as to the age of consent, widow re-marriage, &c."

Where is the wisdom of driving patient people to exasperation like this? And note, what has infuriated the *Banganavisi* is not so much the article in the *National Review*, but the fact that it is written by a distinguished Bombay civilian, who only the other day was Acting Governor of Bombay, and may, therefore, be suspected of reflecting the opinions and the possible intentions of the English officials in India. There is the rub; I could send you fifty similar extracts from Hindoo newspapers and pamphlets on this vexed question of the "Age of Consent," and they all are equally remarkable not only for their opposition to any legislation on the subject, but for the way in which they utterly ignore the old Acts of the Indian Legislature suppressing *sati* (widow immolation), and legalising the marriage of widows. These Acts simply do not exist for the orthodox Hindoo, and those who avail themselves of the latter are, *ipso facto*, no longer Hindoos, but reprobate outcasts.

All this should be very instructive to stay-at-home English people who take an honest interest in India. It should bring home to them in a very practical manner the great difficulty of our position in India, standing, as the paramount power, between the ancient co-operative civilisation of the country itself and the modern competitive civilisation introduced from Europe, and responsible for the peaceful regulation of the friction that must of necessity everywhere arise between them. This friction is found at every point of contact between the two systems, and is based on the inherent antagonism that has always existed between the "excessive individualism" that has been the noisy glory of the West and the self-denying communism which, where it has not been overthrown by foreign conquerors, has made the quiet stability of 'the immemorial East.' *Augurium ratio est, et conjectura futuri*; and, if we self-governing English people fail to rightly apprehend the cardinal facts that should determine the policy of our rule in India, then not all the warnings of "the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognostigators," and the apocryphal Hindoo *shastras* can save us from the things they are said to declare shall come upon us.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL DEFENCE LEAGUE.

As an instance of the support and co-operation the promoters of the proposed National Defence League are likely to get, the following account will be perused with great interest.

At a weekly meeting of the Society of Indians resident in Cambridge, the following motion was brought before the House: "That this House approves of the proposed Indian National Defence League as sketched in India." A young Muhammadan from the Panjab, and an ardent and enthusiastic supporter of the Congress, explained the aims and objects of the League in a lucid and eloquent speech. Mr. Gour, who has established his reputation as a speaker at the Union where he has lately won fresh laurels by making a powerful speech against the arbitrary ruling of an ex-president, supported the motion with his usual eloquence and brilliancy. The motion was then subjected to a lively and interesting discussion; several objections were brought forth which were powerfully and eloquently answered by the supporters of the measure. After an instructive and entertaining debate, the motion was adopted by the House.—G. K.

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Durbhungah, *August* 28, 1890.

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